¡Tricontinental

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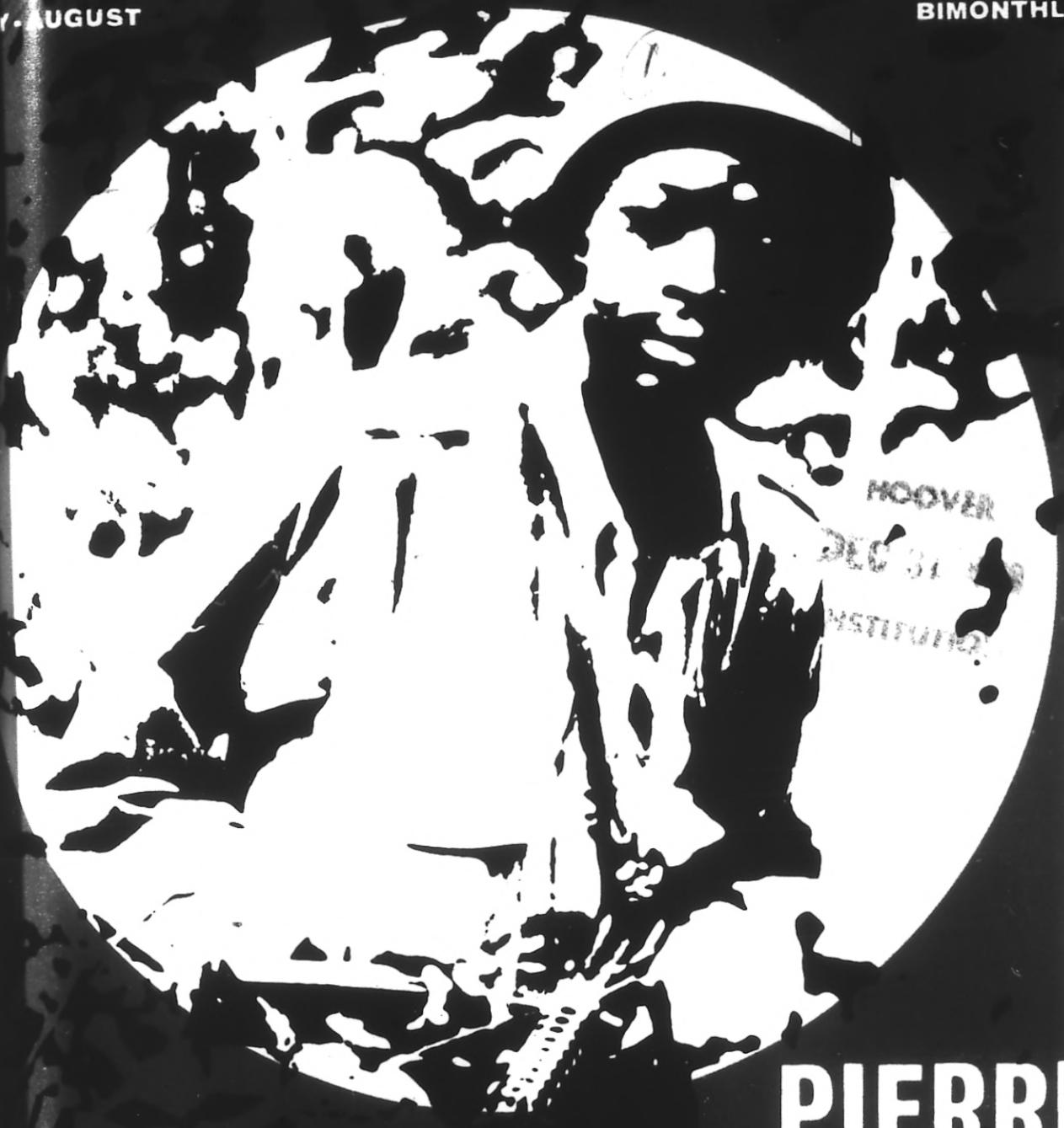

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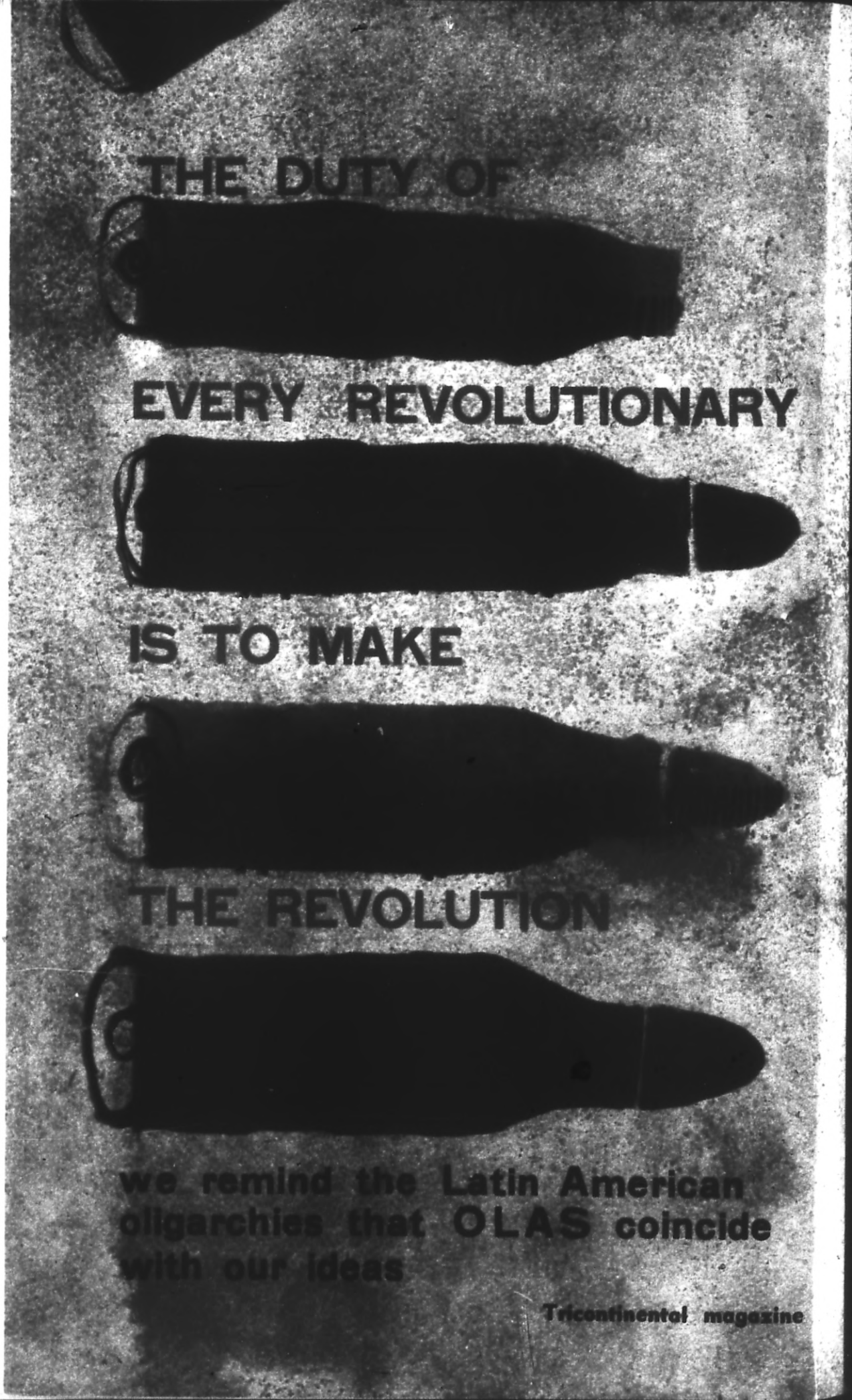
THE DUTY OF
EVERY REVOLUTIONARY
IS TO MAKE
THE REVOLUTION
we remind the Latin American oligarchies that OLAS coincide with our ideas
Tricontinental magazine

EDITORIAL

The 31st. of May of this year was the first anniversary of the constitution of the Executive Secretariat of OSPAAAL.
The tasks of our organization, entrusted to us by the First Tricontinental Conference, are being carried out through practical measures essentially aimed at coordinating, supporting and promoting active and revolutionary solidarity among the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

During this period our organization has emphasized solidarity with the Vietnamese people whe are heroically struggling against the aggression of U.S. expeditionary forces and satelite countries intervening in Indochina. The militant spirit of Viet Nam is the example that inspires other peoples suffering the most terrible plunder of their riches by the local oligarchies and imperialist monopolies.

Underdevelopment, a result of the centuries old exploitation to which our peoples have been submitted, imposes on us the task of liberating ourselves at any price, changing our continent into impregnable bulwarks of anti-imperialist struggle.

At present, the revolutionary offensive rises vigorously in Asia, where at different points on the continent the fight is being waged arms in hand against the intervention of U.S. imperialism. This enables the vanguards of the Portuguese colonies and the Congo (L) to awaken the black masses of Africa so that a new era in that part of the world will dawn. Simultaneously, the guerrilla detachments of Latin America demonstrate their solidarity with the combatants waging daily combat for national liberation on a tricontinental scale. The present situation confirms the content of the message sent to

Tricontinental by Major Ernesto Che Guevara, who clearsightedly foresaw the role of the revolutionaries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America when he stated:

"And let us develop a true proletarian internationalism, with international proletarian armies; the flag under which we fight shall be the sacred cause of redeeming humanity. To die under the flag of Viet Nam, of Venezuela, of Guatemala, of Laos, of Guinea, of Colombia, of Bolivia, of Brasil — to name only a few scenes of today's armed struggle — would be equally glorious and desirable for an American, an Asian, and African, even a European."

The objectives of our organization are precisely aimed at obtaining a greater comprehension of the important problems that are being posed today to the peoples of the Third World, overcoming them through efficient measures and, at the same time, systematically denouncing the criminal policies of intervention, plunder and aggression employed by the world-wide imperialist system and particularly by U.S. imperialism against the Afro-Asian-Latin American peoples.

Tricontinental magazine proposes to collect in its pages the contributions of the most prominent leaders of the Third World as well as the revolutionary intellectuals intimately linked to the cultural manifestations of the underdeveloped countries. The importance of the appearance of **Tricontinental** lies in the fact that it will serve as a medium of agitation, diffusion and exchange or revolutionary experiences as well as of the most noble ideas of men that struggle for the full liberty of humanity.

The Executive Secretatiat of OSPAAAL is aware that the militant solidarity of the peoples of the three continents is an immediate necessity imposed by their identity of problems and community of aspirations. For this reason, and in fulfillment of the agreements of the First Tricontinental Conference, it presents this publication, which it is hoped will contribute to the struggle for national liberation and against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

Tricontinental

THIS GREAT HUMANITY HAS SAID: ENOUGH!
AND HAS STARTED TO MOVE FORWARD

TO THE READER

The policy of the **Tricontinental** magazine will be to present and discuss documents and positions that may help in one form or another to clarify ideas or give information on facts and developments taking place in today's world. **Experiences and Facts**—the title of one of the sections of the magazine—consists of objectively presented topics whose range is limited only by the natural passion which we instil in the treatment of these topics.

In this first issue the bulk of the theoretical material **"Starting Points"** and **Land of Ideas** —is provided by already thoroughly analysed Frantz Fanon (page 23) but of whom some new angle can always be discovered on repeated readings. The article especially written for us by Prime Minister Kim Il Sung (page 18) is being published to coincide with news releases about the first guerrilla actions in South Korea.

These lines of thought are soundly expounded by an article written in the press room itself of this magazine by Stokely Carmichael (page 15) and—as a resounding impact—the closing speech of the First Conference of the OLAS made by Major Fidel Castro.

The previously unpublished photographs and manuscripts of the guerrilla leader Pierre Mulele, who is repeatedly reported as dead, present a journalistic interest that **Tricontinental** cannot bu emphasize (page 62); since the murder of Patrice Lumumba, Pierre Mulele leads the vanguard of the armed struggle movement in the most serious and far-reaching actions in a continually threatened Congo.

The Middle East crisis—seen from various points of view—make us face the problems of this area, and also the complexity of interests that link the countries of three continents against the power that curb the methods, the principles and the weapons of development..

These articles are linked to one that will be a continual section of the magazine: **News Behind the News,** first hand reports and comments that will supplement some facts that are, in the majority of cases. superficially treated by the international press (page 107).

NEW EXPRESSION: The culture of a world in ascent and its examples and most remarkable manifestations, have an outstanding place in the **Tricontinental:** for this issue the Cuban architect Salinas makes an accurate analysis of the question of the Third World and its disastrous housing problem, which is his specialty, an excellent basis for a future book (page 74).

In the rest of the sections, mainly in the one in which some documents are published in their entirely—**Notes for History**—the reader may find points of support and raw material to form his own conclusions (page . . .) so that the problems and hopes of the underdeveloped world may become more profundly and systematically understood.

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TRICONTINENTAL

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Papa rentre ce matin

E R R A T A

p. 10	paragraph 2:	instead of "Land", read "land"
	paragraph 4:	instead of "ilussion", read "illusion"
p. 11	paragraph 1:	instead of "slavers", read "slavers' "
		instead of "antiimperialist", read "anti-imperialist"
	paragraph 2:	instead of "aggressions", read 'aggression"
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		instead of "system", read "systems"
p. 14	paragraph 1:	instead of "duty bound", read "duty-bound"

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Papa rentre ce matin
par le Boeing intercontinental
(il a quitté l'Europe hier soir)

Advertisement in **Jeune Afrique**

AiR CONGO

HIS INNOCENT LOOK CANNOT
SEE WHAT IS TO COME.

LYING COFFIN- IT HAS A MILITARY REPLICA:
HE B-52 STRATOFORTRESS, WHICH DROPS 10
ONS OF BOMBS DAILY OVER VIET NAM.

ODAY IN VIET NAM;
OMORROW IN HIS COUNTRY

To the **Tricontinental** magazine:

For centuries the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America have been the victims of a policy of aggression, slavery and brutal exploitation on the part of imperialism and colonialism. But oppression generates struggle. The peoples of these continents, who do not intent submissively to bear the chains of slavery forever, have reason to struggle for freedom. A good many countries have already been emancipated, and many peoples are still engaged in the struggle for liberation.

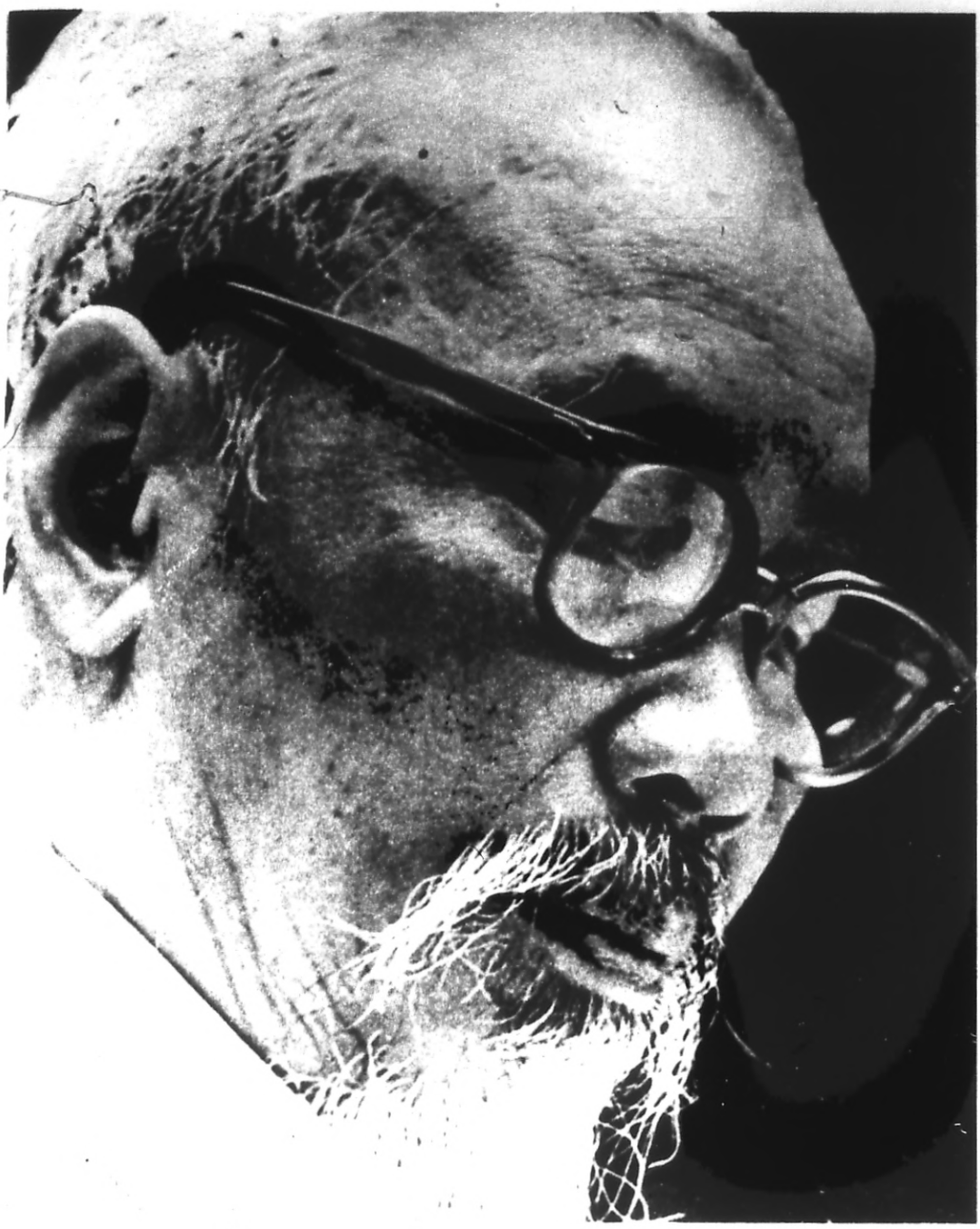
Africa, Asia and Latin America are the areas where the greatest contradictions in today's world have come to a head and where the revolutionary storm is strongest, dealing telling blows against imperialism, destroying its colonial system. The peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America understand and support each other ever more in the common struggle against colonialism, neocolonialism and imperialism headed by the U.S. imperialists.

The movement for national liberation that is constantly developing achieves great victories and has now become one of the most important factors in the development of the history of humanity.

The First Tricontinental Conference of Solidarity, held in Havana, pointed the way to a new step in the development of the liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

I hope that the publication of the **Tricontinental** magazine will contribute to increase actively militant solidarity among the peoples of the three continents in the cause of the revolutionary struggle for the liberation of the peoples and for the safeguarding of peace in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the world over.

NGUYEN HUU THO



Dear friends:

On the occasion of the publication of Tricontinental magazine I feel very happy to send the fraternal peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin American my best wishes of solidarity and hopes for achievements in their heroic struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism headed by Yankee imperialism, for national liberation and for the maintenance of world peace.

I wish Tricontinental complete success in the fulfilment of its noble revolutionary tasks.

Fraternally.

HO CHI MINH

land of ideas

LET US REINFORCE THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST AND ANTI-YANKEE STRUGGLE

by Kim Il Sung

Two years ago the Tricontinental Peoples' Solidarity Organization was founded in Havana, the capital of Cuba. It was an event of very great importance. The aims and ideals of this organization have aroused the sympathy of hundreds of millions of Asian, African and Latin American people and are exerting profound influence on the course of the great changes taking place in the world today.

After suffering from oppression and plunder by Western capitalism and imperialism for centuries, the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America have risen courageously and entered the arena of history. The strong tide of national liberation is rising with an irresistible force. Hundreds of millions of people in the three continents are fighting for liberation and for the safeguard of the achievements of the revolution they have already attained. The colonial system of imperialism is fast falling asunder.

Imperialism is making desperate attempts to retain its former positions and restore its lost ground. As the fatal hour of imperialism is drawing nearer, the struggle is becoming more intensified. That is why the peoples cannot but continue with their struggle, holding high the banner of anti-imperialism till imperialism is wiped out completely from the surface of the earth.

The newly-independent countries which have thrown off the yoke of imperialism are confronted with very difficult and important tasks of safeguarding their national independence, carrying forward the revolution and giving assistance to the liberation strug-

gle of the peoples still in imperialist fetters. The peoples who have achieved independence should crush the subversive activities of the foreign imperialist and domestic reactionary forces, tear down their economic footholds, strengthen the revolutionary forces, strive to set up a progressive social system and build an independent national economy and national culture. Only by so doing, can one safeguard the gains of the revolution, achieve the prosperity of the country and the nation and contribute to the common struggle of the peoples the world over for burying imperialism.

Asia, Africa and Latin America hold 71 per cent of the Land surface of the globe. These continents are inhabited by more than two-thirds of the world population and endowed with inexhaustible natural wealth. Imperialism grew and fattened by grinding down the peoples of these continents and robbing them of their riches. Still now imperialism is squeezing tens of billions of dollars of profits from these continents every year. When Asia, Africa and Latin America are complety cleared of old and new colonialism, there will be no imperialist Western Europe nor imperialist North America. The anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America is a sacred liberation struggle of hundreds of millions of oppressed and humiliated people and, at the same time, a great struggle for cutting the life-line of world imperialism in these areas. Together with the revolutionary struggle of the international working class for socialism, this struggle is a component of the two major revolutionary forces of our times. Those struggles are linked up together in one current which will carry imperialism to its grave.

The imperialists cannot make a gift of independence to the colonial peoples. Is there any need to prove the falsehood of the imperialists when they declare that the Western world can help the tricontinental peoples to their independence and progress and that it can co-exist with free, independent Asia, Africa and Latin America? The nature of imperialism cannot, and will never, change. Imperialism will exploit, oppress and plunder the people till its downfall.

The oppressed peoples can liberate themselves through their struggle only. This is a simple and clear truth confirmed by history. It is necessary to expose the false propaganda of the imperialists and thoroughly dissipate the ilussion that the imperialists will

give away their positions in the colonies and dependent countries with good grace. Where there is oppression there is resistance. This is the rule. It is inevitable that the oppressed peoples should fight for their emancipation So long as imperialism plunders and oppresses weak nations by force, it remains an inalienable right of the oppressed nations to rise in arms and fight against the aggressors. It is wrong to try to avoid the struggle against imperialism under the pretext that though independence and revolution are important, peace is still more precious. Is it not true that the line of seeking unprincipled compromise with imperialism only encourages its aggressive manoeuvres and increases the danger of war? Peace secured through slavish submission is not peace. Genuine peace will not come unless a struggle is waged against the breakers of peace, unless the slavers peace is rejected and the rule of the oppressors is overthrown. We are opposed to the line of compromise with imperialism. At the same time, we cannot tolerate either the practice of only talking big of opposing imperialism, but, in deed, being afraid of fighting against imperialism. The latter is a line of compromise in an inverted form. Both have nothing to do with the genuine antiimperialist struggle and will only be of help to the imperialist policy of aggression and war.

In order to fight against imperialism, it is important first of all to direct the spearhead of attack on U.S. imperialism, the ringleader of world imperialism. In extending its crooked hands of aggressions all over the world, U.S. imperialism has become the common enemy of all peoples of the world. There is not a country on the globe whose sovereignty is not violated by U.S. imperialism or which is free from the menace of U.S. imperialist aggression. The U.S. imperialists are cruelly suppressing the liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and constantly perpetrating acts of aggression and subversive activities to bring the newly-independent countries into submission once again. Showing their true colours as burglars, shamelessly, the U.S. imperialists are waging a war of aggression against a socialist country and interfering in the domestic affairs of other countries by force of arms. Not a day has passed without witnessing flames of aggression and war kindled by U.S. imperialism over the last 20-odd years following the termination of World War II. U.S. imperialism is the most heinous and infamous plunderer ever known in history. It is no less than the U.S. imperialists themselves that are inducing all peoples on the globe demanding peace, independence and progress to unite in a joint front against U.S. imperialism.

The peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America have common interests and their anti-imperialist, anti-U.S. struggles are linked up with each other by a relationship of mutual support. When Africa and Latin America are not free, Asia cannot enjoy freedom; when the U.S. imperialists are driven out of Asia, this will benefit the liberation struggle of the African and Latin American peoples. Victory on one front against U.S. imperialism will sap its strength that much, facilitating victory on other fronts. No matter where, in what part of the world, U.S. imperialist forces of aggression may be wiped out, it will be very gratifying to all peoples of the world. There-

fore, it is necessary to form a broadest possible anti-U.S. united front to isolate U.S. imperialism thoroughly, and administer blows to it by united strength everywhere it is engaged in aggression. Only by so doing, is it possible to disperse and weaken the forces of U.S. imperialism to the last degree and lead the people on every front to beat U.S. imperialism with an overwhelming power.

For more than 20 years the U.S. imperialists are occupying the southern part of our country. They are enforcing colonial rule in South Korea and have turned it into a military base for their aggression on the whole of Korea and Asia. In spite of their ignominious defeat in their aggressive war against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the U.S. imperialists still refuse to give up their aggressive designs to conquer the whole of Korea and are bent on continued manoeuvres to unleash another war in Korea. The supreme task set before the Korean people at present is to liquidate the colonial system maintained by the U.S. imperialists in South Korea, to accomplish the national liberation revolution and to realize the country's unification. For the Korean people to accomplish their cause of national liberation, forces must be prepared along three lines: to strengthen the socialist forces in North Korea; to increase and accumulate the revolutionary forces in South Korea; and to develop the international revolutionary movement and strengthen solidarity with it. North Korea is the base of the Korean revolution. The successes in socialist construction in North Korea are encouraging the South Korean people in their anti-U.S. national salvation struggle and are conducive to the preparation of revolutionary forces in South Korea. We are striving to strengthen and develop the revolutionary forces both in North and South Korea and, at the same time, to strengthen solidarity with the international revolutionary forces. The Korean people support the struggle of the peoples of all countries against U. S. imperialism, and regard it as assistance to their own cause of liberation. We maintain that all the anti-imperialist forces of the world should unite and wage a joint struggle against U.S. imperialism. We have been working consistently for this end.

The U.S. imperialists are afraid of the united strength of the revolutionary peoples of the world, more than anything else. That is why they are resorting to all kinds of tricks to obstruct the formation of an anti-U.S. united

front and have adopted the stratagem of subduing weak and small countries one by one. This stratagem of U.S. imperialism must be thoroughly frustrated. The Asian, African and Latin American countries have differing social systems, and there exist many parties with differing political views in these countries. But all of these countries and parties, except the stooges of imperialism. have common interests in opposing the imperialist forces of aggression headed by U.S. imperialism. The difference in social system and political ideals can never be an obstacle to the joint struggle and concerted action against U.S. imperialism. No one must be allowed to split the anti-U.S. united front and refuse joint action, attaching the first importance to his own nation's or party's specific interests. It will only benefit the U.S.-led imperialists and do harm to the revolutionary peoples.

It is very important in the joint struggle against imperialism to defend the revolution which has already triumphed. It is an internationalist duty of all the revolutionary peoples to fight in defence of the gains of the Cuban revolution. Revolutionary Cuba represents the future of Latin America and its very existence encourages the peoples of this continent in their liberation movement. The victory of the Cuban revolution furnishes striking evidence that imperialism is bound to meet its doom and the national-liberation revolution and people's revolution will certainly triumph in our times. It is for this very reason that the U.S. imperialists hate and are afraid so much of this small island country.

The U.S. imperialists are seeking to strangle the Republic of Cuba. The peoples of Latin America and the progressive peoples of the whole world must do all in their power to foil the U.S. imperialists' blockade policy against the Republic of Cuba and frustrate their scheme for military invasion on Cuba.

Today the Vietnamese people's resistance war of national salvation against the U.S. invasion troops has become the focal point of the anti-imperialist struggle. The U.S. imperialist forces of aggression and the anti-imperialist, peace-loving forces of the world are making a showdown in Vietnam. The U.S. troops are sustaining one defeat after another by the heroic resistance of the Vietnamese people and falling into a bottomless mire. Upsetting the calculation of the U.S. imperialists, the Vietnam war has become a grave for the aggressors. The Vietnamese people's resistance war of national salvation proves once again clearly that a people who are determined to defend their independence and freedom at whatever sacrifice and who have the support of the peoples of the whole world, are invincible.

At present, the U.S. imperialists are escalating their war, continuously reinforcing their military strength in South Vietnam, dragging more troops of their satellite countries in the war, and conducting bombings and bombardments on a large scale against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The Vietnamese people are shouldering the heavy burden of resisting the aggression of the most barbarous and heinous imperialism of modern times by their heroic struggle. They are fighting not only in defence of their independence and freedom, but also for safeguarding world peace and

security. When U.S. imperialist aggression against Vietnam is checked and frustrated, U.S. imperialism will find itself going down like the setting sun and the situation will turn more favorable to the peoples of all countries fighting for peace, independence and progress. The peace-loving peoples of the whole world are duty-bound to give all forms of assistance to the Vietnamese people, and the Vietnamese people are entitled to receive it. The peoples of the socialist, the newly-independent and the Asian, African and Latin American countries and peoples of all other countries of the world should make their greatest efforts to expand the anti-U.S. united front, to assist the Vietnamese people in their resistance war of national salvation, and to check by concerted action the U.S. imperialist aggression. No one has the right to force upon the Vietnamese people a solution of their internal affairs against their will. The U.S. aggressive troops must pull out of Vietnam and the Vietnamese question must be settled by the Vietnamese people themselves. We must neither underestimate nor overestimate the strength of U.S. imperialism. U.S. imperialism can still commit lots more crimes. But U.S. imperialism is on the decline. Today when U.S. imperialism is acting most outrageously, its weakness is revealed more clearly than ever before. The Korean people are aware what U.S. imperialism is. Our people have experience in fighting U.S. imperialism, and defended their motherland from its aggression. The Korean war revealed that U.S. imperialism is by no means invulnerable, but can be beaten in fighting.

in fighting. The triumph of the Cuban revolution has proved again this truth under circumstances different from ours. The Vietnamese people's resistance war of national salvation, too, clearly confirms this truth. U.S. imperialism is doomed to complete destruction. By fighting in union against the U.S.-led imperialists, the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America will build a new Asia, Africa and Latin America, independent and prosperous, and will make a great contribution to world peace and the liberation of mankind.

THE THIRD WORLD-OUR WORLD

By Stokely Carmichael

Black Power developed as a slogan because the African-Americans inside the United States recognized that prior to 1966, the people who where leading the struggle were not calling for power, but they were calling for other irrelevant things; they were calling for love, they were calling for non-violence, they were calling for peace, and that a clear political recognition is that if one is to implement change, one does not need love, one does not need non-violence, one does not need morality, one needs power

So a clear understanding was that power was what the black masses of the United States need if they intend to liberate themselves,. thus we call for black power.

What has happened is that living inside the United States for four hundred years, African-Americans recognized the racism of the United States and how deep it is. Unlike many peoples of the Third World who live outside of the United States, and never get a chance to really taste this racism, we have been inside the United States for four hundred years and we've recognized the depths of racism so that we have a two-front fight to wage; racism and exploitation, which happen to be by-products of a capitalistic system..

Many people who live on the outside are not so much concerned with racism as they are with exploitation, but the lines are

sharply drawn for us inside the United States for many reasons. We have an entire white society, which has for four hundred years enjoyed a luxury out of our sweat; we have been slaves and none of them protested it.

When the Civil War occurred in the 1860's, the war was not for freeing the slaves; the war was whether or not the North would control the country, or the South would control the country. The question of slavery was irrelevant. As a matter of fact the war was started in 1861 but Lincoln did not sign the Emancipation Proclamation until 1863—he himself said several times that if he could save the Union without freeing the slaves, that is what he would do, because his job was to be concerned with the United States, not with Black people.

We do not think that the people in the Third World understand the racism that we have to fight. The off-times question is why we do not join hands with white workers in the United States. Not only is it because of the subconscious racism of white workers and the white working class in particular, who think that because they are white they are better than us, but also because the white working class is part and parcel of the American capitalistic society, and it is part and parcel because when the white working class of the United States organized, its fight was not for the control of the resources of the United States, not for the redistribution of wealth in the United States; their fight was merely for more money. All they were concerned about was more money.

The United States capitalists, who were then ruling the country, in order to get more money, in order to avoid the inevitable class conflicts Marx talks about, began to exploit other countries in the Third World. Their profits increased, they threw some of their profits to the white working class, who accepted it, so that the white working class was now enjoying the money off the sweat of the Third World, so that they became part and parcel of the system; they have to fight to maintain it, because if they do not fight to maintan it, they will have to fight for a new system.

Though we feel that a new system would be more beneficial to white working class America, we are unable to convince them of it because they are afraid to give up their economic security they now have and fight for a new type of system which would be more beneficial to them. So they throw in their lot with the white power structure inside the United States. Until they begin to develop a revolutionary consciousness, where they will begin to fight to chage this system, they will not work with us—we cannot wait for them, we must struggle alone.

We automatically hook up with the peoples of the Third World, because we see ourselves, and we are in fact colonies inside the United States; the peoples of the Third World are colonies outside the United States. The same power structure that exploits and oppresses you, is the very same power structure that exploits and oppresses us. It rapes us of the resources inside the colonies where we live, it rapes you of your resources outside in the colonies where you live. So even if our goals were different, even if our aims were different, even if our ideology was different, our

enemy is the same, and the only way all of us will be liberated is when we come together and defeat our enemy. And we must come together to defeat the enemy, because we are not fighting isolated capitalism, we are fighting international capitalism; and since the imperialist powers of the world have internationalized their system, we must also internationalize our system, so that our fight will be international.

That, then, means that the importance and the significance of Che's words when he says we must create two, three, many Viet Nams has much relevance to us once we begin to recognize the importance of internationalizing our fight.

Our hooking up with the Third World also moves beyond the point of having a common enemy; therefore it is more important for us to hook up with the Third World, than it may be for the Third World to hook up with us. Because the United States has used our peoples time and time again to fight all of her imperialist wars; it is we who are the cannon fodder for all of her wars. We must develop a relationship with the Third World, so that our people will begin to recognize that their struggle is with the struggle of the Third World, and that we cannot allow white America to use us to fight imperialist wars, where she can continue to subdue peoples. Once we begin to show that relationship to our people, they will not fight in the Armed Forces of the United States. Once we have reduced the fighting power of the United States, they will have to send other people to do their fighting on the outside, we can then have our total force on the inside, we can start to wage a fight on the inside of the United States.

We have viewed the United States as an octopus, with its tentacles reaching all across the world. The eye of the octupus is located inside the United States. Cuba has cut one of the tentacles; Viet Nam has one of the tentacles tied down; the other tentacles are loose; whenever there is trouble, the United States sends the other tentacles... If we can get the other peoples to tie down the other tentacles of the United States, while those tentacles are busy, we can stab the eye. That will be our job on the inside, so if we can make other people on the outside begin to fight the United States, while we are waging our fight inside, we can more easily defeat the octupus, and we must do that, if in fact it is going to be defeated.

If we allow the United Stated to keep waging one struggle and then the other, and then the other, she will continue for ever; but if she is forced to wage all the struggles at the same time, she will be defeated almost immediately. That is precisely the importance of hooking up with the Third World.

But there is another reason. What white western society has done wherever it has gone, is that it has transplanted different peoples and put them on different lands; it has taken Africans and spread us all across the Caribbean, all across South America, clear on into the United States. It has taken Indians and done the same thing; it has taken Indians from India and done that also; it has taken Chinese and has done the same thing; and what usually happens

is that whenever the peoples of these countries begin to move for their liberation, the imperialist powers begin to use the question of race and culture to keep them divided. A clear example of that would be Guiana today, where you have Indians fighting blacks; an example of that would be Malaya, where the British have the Indians fighting the Chinese, fighting the Malayans.

These tactics are very good, as far as the imperialist powers are concerned, because while they keep these races fighting each other, they are still able to exploit. If we can begin to come together, where you no longer have Indians fighting blacks in Guiana, but both of them coming together and fighting the United States. If we can do that in Malaya, where you will not have Chinese fighting Indians, fighting Malayans, but all three coming together and fighting the British, we can more easily defeat the imperialist powers around the world. So the question of the Third World coming together as a force is very important for us, because also within the United States we have problems such as this; a clear example is the problem of blacks and Spanish-speaking people inside the United States.

For years these two groups have viewed each other with hostility, have always fought against each other, particularly Puerto Ricans and blacks inside of Harlem and Chicago; and what has happened is that while these two groups have always been fighting each other, sometimes in bloody street fights, the white power structure has sat back and laughed. Unfortunately for them, and fortunately for us, because of some concrete organizing work that we have done, we are getting Puerto Ricans and blacks to march in the streets together to fight the police. If that tactic can be employed successfully inside the United States, then we hope to use that as an example for our brothers around the Third World.

On the question of economics, we are somewhat behind other peoples of the Third World for a number of reasons; because we live inside the United States, it is hard for us to seize control of the United States and then have a revolution in terms of the redistribution of the wealth. Before that can come about, we need other people, particularly white people, to work with us so that we can begin to wage that struggle. We do not think, however, that white people will begin to develop a revolutionary consciousness until the profits of the Third World, the external profits of the United States, are out off. Once those profits are cast off, and no more profits are coming into the United States, and she must begin to turn inside to find her resources and her economic way of life, then and only then will the white working class begin to develop a revolutionary consciousness. So that we must, whether we like it or not, aid the struggles of the Third World so that they can defeat imperialism in their colonies, keep the Yankees out, force them to come back home and force the white working class to develop the revolutionary consciousness, that it must develop to wage a fight to destroy the capitalistic system inside the United States.

Black Power must begin to speak specifically to the culture of black peoples around the world. Because the imperialist powers raped

Africa so bastardly, that she took us from Africa and scattered us all around the world; took us from our mother country, took us from our mothers, took us from our fathers, split up our families, took away our culture, took away our language, took away our heritage, took away our dignity. And we are beginning to understand more and more that unlike other people who have land, or countries to fight for, in a sense, Black Power is going to have to become a nationality for us, that our color in many cases is going to become our country.

The black man has been scattered all around the world, like for example, a black man in Brazil, or a black man in Mississippi, a black man in Trinidad, a black man in Guiana, we've all sprung from the same culture, and we do not know that culture. Our fight is unique because we have to fight to reclaim our culture which has been destroyed in a cold, calculated method by white western imperialist society, so that we would not feel any togetherness or any unity for each other. As because in probably every country of the Third World you find black men today; except in Asia, in every other country you find Africans in the Third World, it is because of that, more than anything else, that we will have close ties with the Third World, ties which will transcend political and intellectual ties and will become emotional ties once we begin to see ourselves as a people. So that if the United States decided to invade Brazil, if Brazil has a sizable African population, which it does — 35% —; if we recognize that those Africans are part of us, that we stem from the same country, we will not fight them, we will not fight them. This is one of the important reasons why we can develop an emotional tie with the Africans in Brazil, the Africans in Puerto Rico, the Africans in Venezuela, the Africans in Santo Domingo, the Africans all over Africa and wherever Africans are.

Many of the African national leaders are now beginning to have an impact on us; it started with Lumumba, Patrice Lumumba, but our awareness of Lumumba did not come while he was alive unfortunately; it came after his death, and it did not come through Lumumba or through Africans; it came through our martyr brother Malcom X, who began to explain to us that we must internationalize our struggle, that we must look beyond the United States, and we must begin to understand that we have to fight the minority complex which the United States imposes upon us; and that if we begin to internationalize our fight, we will begin to recognize that numerically the black man outnumbers the white men around the world; and that if we begin to see that, we will no longer see ourselves as a minority, but we will see ourselves, in fact, as a majority.

And if the people of color can begin to come together, all of us who have been exploited by the white man, be we Chinese, be we Indian, be we black; once we begin to recognize that WE make up the majority of the world, and the white man is in the minority in the world—particularly white western powers—we will no longer begin to be afraid of him. That, for example, would be the importance of the fight in Indochina; the French were fighting the Indochinese; the Algerians waited until the French had finished fighting in Indochina, fighting the Indochinese, before

they began their fight. If they had recognized their struggle and their unity, they would have come together and fought the French at the same time the Indochinese were fighting the French, the defeat of France would have been more quickly achieved. That could be the example to us of the Third World; the people of Malaya, the people of Somaliland, the people of Portuguese Guinea, the people of Venezuela, the people of Brazil, the people of Viet Nam—all of us—land the black people inside the United States, if we come together, we would quickly defeat all of the western powers.

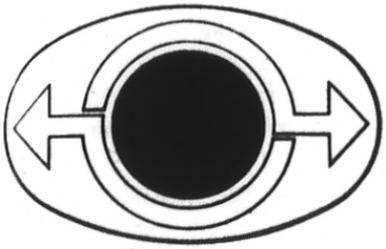
White western societies have stripped the world of its humanity. It is our job to come together and save the humanity of the world. White western society has dehumanized all of us. Until recently, she had to dehumanize us to the point where we would not even rebel against the dehumanizing process; but we are now beginning to come alive; we are beginning to understand what Che talks about, when he says a man wakes up from his death and begins to love life so much that he is going to risk his life to live for it. I think that is where all of us in the Third World are; that is, where blacks inside of the United States are. And that we, more than anybody else, will recognize the dehumanizing process; and we, more than anybody else, recognize the price that we will have to pay for humanity; we, more than anybody else, have developed real hatred of the white West—the hatred that Che talks about that is going to make us effective, cold, killing machines that will transcend man, because for four hundred years we have been forced to live inside of the West, we have been forced to recognize and to understand its true, imperialistic nature, and like a dog who has been trained by its master, no one can become a more vicious enemy than a dog that has been trained by a master, because the dog knows the ways of the master.

The United States cannot destroy us the way she can destroy other peoples, because she cannot drop a hydrogen bomb or an atomic bomb inside her cities. Her weapons will be of no use to her inside her cities; she will have to fight us in hand to hand combat; she will have to fight us on our terms in guerrilla warfare. She may develop chemical gases, to use inside the ghettoes, but if she uses a chemical gas inside of Harlem, she's going to have to use it in all fifty of her states, because once she uses it inside of Harlem, we will start in Watts, we will start in Chicago, we will start in Cleveland, we will put the entire country on fire, and we will sit like Nero and twiddle our thumbs.

If in the final end, in order to stop the United States, we have to fight till each of us die, then our lives is not too high a price to pay for the humanity that we will render to the world, once we have destroyed the imperialistic nature of the United States. I think that the most important thing that we can do is to begin to organize and I felt that I could use myself as an example, by going back into the field and begin to organize again, perhaps other people would begin to follow the lead. As I do not think that there is any hope for us in the Third World unless we organize our people; I think too many people in the Third World want to be what we call "arm-chair revolutionaries", that is, just talk and tell people how to organize,

rather than themselves going and doing the organizing. That is one of the reasons why it is very important, and also because we want to be able to give other people a chance to move around in leadership roles, so that when the United States and the CIA arms begin to assassinate leaders, there will be a lot of other people who have been playing a leadership role, so that the struggle will continue and not depend upon one man. As you know, it has been done in the past; lots of movements have been stopped for years because they were able to kill the leaders; we want other people to get a chance to move around in leadership positions.

We have tried for four hundred years to peacefully coexist inside the United States; it has been to no avail. The oppression has not stopped. It is clear for us that we can only be on the side of those in the Third World who are for armed struggle; those who talk of peaceful coexistence, talk only of maintaining the status quo. We've already picked up arms; it's not a question any more for us of which way to go; it is merely a question of tactics. We are ready to destroy imperialism by any means necessary.



starting points

LUMUMBA'S DEATH

could we have acted differently?

by Frantz Fanon

Recent events have conferred renewed interest on the tragic developments occurred in Congo when its great leader, Patrice Lumumba was assassinated. Among these events is the spectacular kidnapping of Moise Tshombe, and above all, the devious attitude of the United Nations Organization with regard to the Israeli-imperialist aggression against the Arab countries.

This fact makes even more interesting the writings of Frantz Fanon, which were published immediately after the Congolese tragedy took place. Fanon felt much affection for Lumumba, he believed that the fate of the entire African Continent was being decided in the Congo. As Martí (**Homeland and Humanity**), Fidel and Che, and all genuine revolutionaries, Lumumba considered that humanity comes before the homeland. "Lumumba had once proclaimed that the liberation in Congo would be the first phase of the total independence in Central and Southern Africa and he had very clearly outlined his next objectives which were to support the nationalist movements in Rhodesia, Angola, and South Africa." This explains the ferocity with which the imperialist powers conspired against him.

Many lessons can be learned from his death. One of them is to dispel the illusion of the U.N.; the learning of this lesson is what led the Cuban Revolutionary Government to refuse to permit the intervention of the UN in Cuba during the October 1962 Crisis by declaring just one phrase: "Cuba is not the Congo." Fanon had explained: "Lumumba's mistake at the beginning was to trust in the friendly impartiality of the UN. He singularly forgot that the UN, in its present form, is nothing more than a reserve assembly, organized by the Big Powers in order to continue the pacific struggles, between two armed conflicts for the division of the world. . .

Africans — and we also include all men of the Third World — must remember this lesson. Should we need outside aid let us appeal to our friends. Only they can really help us to achieve our objectives, because obviously the friendship that links us to them is the friendship born of combat.

But the Congo tragedy, which — in a direct reference to Rimbaud's **A Season in Hell** — the poet Aimé Césaire would call **A Season in the Congo,** is nothing but a chapter in the history of the anti-colonialist struggle, an irrepressible struggle of which Patrice Lumumba is one of the most prominent martyrs. As Fanon expresses: "no one knows the name of the next Lumumba."

The observers who met in different African capitals during the month of June 1960, could see various unusual things. Indeed, an increasing number of strange people arrived from the Congo — which has just stepped into the international arena. What did these Congolese say? This was not at all important. They said that Lumumba had been bribed by the Ghanians. That Gizenga had been bribed by the Guineans and Kashamura by the Yugoslavs. That the Belgian civilizers had left too soon, etc. But, if an attempt were made to corner one of these Congolese and to question him, then we realized that something very serious was being plotted against the independence of the Congo and against Africa.

Congolese Senators and Deputies left the Congo and went to... the United States shortly after the independence festivities. Others lived for several weeks in Brazzaville. The trade union leaders were invited to New York. In Africa should one of these Deputies or Senators be cornered, his questioner would discover a very complicated process was being initiated.

Before July 1, 1960, the Katanga operation was begun. This was, of course, aimed at the safeguarding of Union Miniere de Belgique but the real basis for this operation was a Belgian scheme.

A unified Congo with a central government was being built to serve Belgian interests.

Support of the decentralizing demands of the various provinces, to stir up these demands, to keep them alive, that was the Belgian policy before independence.

In this task the Belgians were assisted by the authorities of the Rhodesia — Nyasaland Federation. Today it is well known, — and Mr. Hammarskjold knew it better than anyone — that before June 30, 1960, an aerial bridge between Salisbury and Elizabethville made it possible to bring arms to Katanga. Lumumba had proclaimed, on a certain occasion, that the liberation of the Congo would be the first phase of the complete independence of Central and Southern Africa, and had clearly outlined his next objectives: the support of the nationalist movements in Rhodesia, Angola and South Africa.

A unified Congo headed by an anti-colonialist constituted a real danger to this Southern Africa, very properly Southern Africa, before which the rest of the world closes its eyes. That is: before of anti-colonialist celebrations.

Lumumba, since he was the head of the first country of this region to have obtained independence, since he knew what colonialism was, had taken upon himself, in the name of his people, to contribute physically to the disapearance of this Africa. That the authorities of Katanga and Por-

tugal have used all the means at their disposal to sabotage the independence of the Congo, does not surprise us in the slightest. That they have reinforced the actions of the Belgians and the push of the centrifugal forces in the Congo is a fact. But this fact does not imply the progressive deterioration that has installed in the Congo. this fact does not explain the cold blooded, coldly executed murder of Lumumba. This colonialist collaboration in the Congo is not enough to explain why in February 1961 Africa will know of its first big crisis related with the Congo.

Its first big crisis because it will be neccessary for them to say if they advance or go backwards. It must be necessary that they understand that it will no longer be possible to advance by regions; that, like a great body that permits no mutilation, it will be necessary to advance in all the front; that there will not bean Africa that fights colonialism and another that will try to arrange things with colonialism. It must be necessay that Africa, that is the African people, understand that there will never be greatness in postponement and that there will never be dishonor in stating what you are and what you want. and that the skill of the colonized cannot be in the last term other than its courage, the clear conception of its objectives and its alliances, the tenacity with which it fights for its liberation.

Lumumba believed in his mission. He had an exaggerated confidence in the people. This people, for him, should not have deceived themselves, in addition should not have been deceived.

And the facts seemed to hear him out. Every time, for instance, that the enemies of the Congo opposed his opinion in any region, it was enough for him to appear, explain, denounce, for the situation to return to normal. He forgot that he could not be in all parts at the same time, and that the miracle of the explanation was less the thruth expounded by him than power of his personal presence.

Lumumba had lost the battle for the presidency of the Republic. But. because he was the incarnation, from the very beginning, of the confidence that the Congolese people had placed in him and because the African peoples understood, confusedly, that he was the only person who cared for the dignity of his country, Lumumba continued expressing Congolese pariotism and African nationalism in its most rigorous and noblest expression.

Then, other more important countries than Belgium or Portugal decided to take a direct interest in the matter. They contacted Lumumba and they talked with him. After his trip to the U.S. the decision was taken: Lumumba must disappear.

Why? Because the enemies of Africa did not fool themselves. They had realized perfectly that Lumumba was sold, sold on Africa — of course. In other words, he could not be bought by them. The enemies of Africa realized with horror that if Lumumba succeeded in the heart of the colonial system with a French Africa turning into a new type community, a Portuguese "province" in Angola, then East Africa was finished, "their" Africa, for whom they had such exact plans.

The great success of the enemies of Africa is to have compromised the Africans themselves. It is true that the Africans were directly interested in the death of Lumumba. Heads of puppet governments, in the midst of a puppet independency, confronted day by day with a mass opposition of their peoples, did not take long to convince themselves that the real independence of the Congo

will put them in personal danger.
There were other Africans, puppets to a lesser degree, who were frightened by the idea of the separation of Africa from the West. We must say that these African chiefs of State have always been afraid of being confronted by Africa. They also, though less actively, but consciously, have contributed to the disintegration of the situation in the Congo.
Little by little the West reached the agreement that it was necessary to intervene in the Congo, the things could not be left to develop at this rate.
Little by little the idea of an U.N. intervention took shape. It can be stated today that two mistakes were committed simultaneously by the Africans.
The first by Lumumba, when he asked for the intervention by the U.N. It was not necessary to appeal to the U.N. The U.N. has never been capable of solving any of the problems presented to man's conscience by colonialism; each time it has intervened it has been to come to the aid of the colonialist power of the oppresor country.
Take the case of the Cameroun. What kind of peace do the subjects of Ahidjo enjoy - held in line by a French expeditionary force that, most of the time, had gained its experience in its first experience under arms in Algeria? U.N. meanwhile supervised the self-determination of the Cameroun and the French government has installed "a provisional governing body."
Take the case of Viet Nam, of Laos.
It is not fair to say that the UN has failed because the causes are difficult.
The UN is the juridical card that the imperialist interests use when brute force has failed.
The distributions, the controlled, mixed commisions, the tutelage are international legal means of torturing, of breaking the will for independence of the peoples, of developing anarchy, banditry and poverty, because, before the arrival of the UN there were no mass killings in the Congo. After the rumors spread on the departure of the Belgians, only a dozen or so deaths were recorded. But after the arrival of the UN, it is usual to find every morning that the Congoless are murdering each other by hundreds.
Today they tell us that repeated provocations are carried out by the Belgian acting as soldiers of the United Nations Organization. Today it is revealed to us that civilian functionaries of the UN created a new government three days after Lumumba's investiture.
So it is better understood that which has been called the violence, the rigidity, the susceptibility of Lumumba.
In fact everything indicates that Lumumba was abnormally calm. The chiefs of the UN missions made contacts with Lumumba's enemies and took the decision with them that started the Congo State. How should a chief of government react in that case?
The purpose that they were looking for and expected was the following: to show the lack of authority and prove the non-existence of the State and to justify the so-called "non-functioning" of the Congolese State.
Lumumba's mistake was then, from the first to believe in the friendly impartiality of the UN. He forgot that the UN, in its present form, is nothing more than a reserve assembly organized by the Big Powers in order to continue "the pacific struggle", between two armed conflicts, for the division of the world. If in August 1960 Iléo state, to anyone willing to listen, that it was necessary to hang Lumumba, if the members

of Lumumba's cabinet did not know what to do with the dollars that flooded Leopoldville since 1960, if Mobutu went to Brazzaville every afternoon to do and listen to what is much better guessed at today, why then, did Lumumba turn with such sincerity, with such lack of reserve to the UN?

The Africans must remember this lesson. If outside aid is needed, let us appeal to our friends. Only they can really help us to achieve our objectives, because, obviously, the friendship that links us to them is the friendship born of combat.

But the African peoples have committed a mistake when they agreed to place their troops under the control of the UN. The African countries allowed themselves to be neutralized and without realizing it, allowed others work for their own ends.

It was clear that it was necessary to send troops to aid Lumumba, but not under the control of the UN, but directly, from one friendly country to another. The African troops in Congo have suffered a historic, moral defeat. With their arms folded, without taking any action (because they were troops of the UN) they witnessed the disintegration of a State and nation that all Africa had acclaimed and praised. Shameful!

The damage that we have caused ourselves, we Africans, comes from forgetting that the enemy never retreats with sincerity. He never understands.

He capitulates but he never changes.

Our mistake was to believe that our enemy had lost his fighting spirit and was harmless. If Lumumba was in the way he must be swept aside.

Imperialism has never hesitated to commit a murder.

Take the cases of Ben M'Hidi, Moumié, Lumumba. Our mistake was to be somewhat confused in our action. Evidently there are still traitors in Africa. It is necessary to denounce and attack them. This is hard to believe after having such a marvelous dream of a united Africa, with the same hopes for a real independence, but it does not alter the facts.

The Africans are the ones who have endorsed imperialist policies in the Congo, they who have served as intermediaries, they who have endorsed the activities and the remarkable silence of the UN in the Congo.

Today, they are afraid. Hypocritically they compete on the ashes of Lumumba. Let us not fool ourselves any longer, they express the fear of their constituents. The imperialists themselves are afraid. And well they may be, because many Africans, many Afro-Asians are beginning to understand. Imperialists want to call a temporary halt. They want to wait until the indignation has died down.

We must make use of this short interlude to abandon our cowardly actions and make up our minds to save the Congo and Africa.

The imperialists decided to eliminate Lumumba. And they did. They decided to create voluntary legions. They are already in place. The Air Force of Katanga, under the orders of South-African and Belgian pilots started strafing a few days ago. Foreign planes, filled with volunteers and paratroopers, leave Brazzaville to aid a certain Congo.

If we decide to support Gizenga, we must do it resolutely.

Because no one knows the name of the next Lumumba. In Africa there is a certain tendency represented by certain men. This tendency, dangerous to imperialism, is the one being disputed. Let us never forget it. It is our fate, the fate of all of us, that is at stake in the Congo.

7 dreams with a phantom

1. Venezuela requested, last May 24 an urgent meeting of the consultative body of the Organization of American States (OAS) to consider its denunciation of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba. The Venezuelan ambassador to the OAS, Pedro Paris Montesinos, stated: "I believe that the moment has arrived completely to isolate Cuba in order to counteract the high level of danger." The United States, from the very beginning, expressed its full support of the Venezuelan proposal.

2. On June 5 the consultative body of the OAS met and agreed to appoint a committee of nine (Venezuela, Uruguay, Colombia, Peru, Bolivia, the United States, Argentine, Trinidad-Tobago and Guatemala) to suggest the agenda, date, and place for the meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs.

3. In keeping with the proposals of the nine-member committee and after a series of collective and bilateral meetings, the council called for a session of the consultative body on June 19. The text of the convocation was changed several times, at the insistence of Venezuela that it be formulated in terms of that country's denunciation, and with an "urgent" character, which Mexico firmly opposed. Washington was elected as the seat of the special meeting.

4. The Twelfth Consultative Meeting of Foreign Ministers opened on June 19, without any foreign ministers. The ministers in question delegated their respective ambassadors or appointed special delegates to represent them. The only agreement adopted was the creation of an investigative committee to travel

experiences and facts

OAS - CUBA

LIQUIDS AGAINST A SOLID

CONFERENCE	PLACE & DATE	THEME	AGREEMENT	ATTENDANCE & VOTING
Fifth Conference	Santiago de Chile August 12-18, 1959	"To establish the means to repress violence and the threat of war in the Caribbean."	"Declaration of Santiago." "Dictatorships are incompatible with the inter-American system." This condemnation refers to the dictatorial regime of Rafael Leónidas Trujillo of the Dominican Republic who had accused Cuba and Venezuela of "invasion" of his country. The Cuban Government presented to the meeting proofs of a conspiracy organized by Trujillo with the aim of overthrowing the Revolutionary Government of Cuba.	21 countries present. Unanimity.
Sixth Conference	San José, Costa Rica, August 17-21, 1960	"The Dominican Republic's aggression against and intervention in Venezuela (refers to the attempt against the life of the president of Venezuela, Rómulo Betancourt.)	Rupture of diplomatic relations with the Dominican Republic. Interruption of economic relations. The OAS Council was authorized to suspend these measures should the Dominican Republic "cease being a source of danger to the peace and security of the continent."	21 countries present.
Seventh Conference	San José, Costa Rica August 22-29, 1960	To consider the need for continental solidarity, the defense of the regional system and all democratic American principles in light of all possible threats.	"Declaration of San José." "The inter-American system is incompatible with all forms of totalitarianism." Condemned "extra-continental intervention," refer-	21 countries present. Cuba withdrew from the meeting. 20 votes.

CONFERENCE	PLACE & DATE	THEME	AGREEMENT	ATTENDANCE & VOTING
		(This meeting, requested by Peru, was considered as a procedure to refer to the OAS the denunciation of U.S. aggression presented to the UN.)	ring to "Sino-Soviet powers." Demanded that the OAS States "submit to the discipline of the inter-American system."	
Eigth Conference	Punta del Este Uruguay. January 23-30, 1962	Colombia requested the meeting at the instance of the U.S. State Department in order to propitiate collective action against Cuba.	"Exclusion of the present Cuban Government from participation in the inter-American system." "Marxism-Leninism is incompatible with the system."	21 countries present. 14 in favor. Abstentions: México, Chile, Brasil, and Argentina.
Ninth Conference	Washington, July 21-26, 1964	Venezuela accused Cuba of interference in its internal affairs. A total blockade of the island was considered and military action spoken of.	Passage of a resolution calling for the "continued break of relations with Cuba and the suspension of trade and maritime transportation," and "a warning" that retaliatory measures will be taken if Cuba "repeats" actions such as attributed to it by Venezuela.	20 countries present. 15 in favor. Abstentions: Bolivia. Against: Mexico, Chile and Uruguay. Absent: Dominican Republic.
Tenth Conference	Washington May 1, 1965	To consider the crisis in the Dominican Republic. The U.S. intervened militarily to quell a constitutionalist rebellion.	To appoint "conciliatory" committees. To legalize U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic.	19 countries present. 15 in favor. Against: Mexico & Uruguay. Abstentions: Argentina & Venezuela. Absent: Dominican Republic.
Informal Meeting	Washington November 17-30, 1965	To strengthen the inter-American system. Central point: the creation of a Permanent Inter-American Peace Force.	To call for a special conference to reform the OAS Charter. To study reforms and improve economic relations. No agreement on an Inter-American Peace Force.	
Eleventh Conference	Punta del Este, Uruguay February 24-26, 1967	Preparatory meeting for the Heads-of-State Conference in Punta del Este.	Approval of the agenda for the Summit Conference.	

to Venezuela to gather proof of Venezuela's accusation.
5. The investigative committee (the United States, the Dominican Republic, Peru, Colombia and Costa Rica) went to Caracas on June 23. After a stay of three days, during which it met with President Raul Leoni and high civil and military officials, the committee returned to Washington.

6. On June 27 the U. N. Security Council distributed a communiqué from the Secretary-General of the OAS on the creation of the said investigative committee.
7. The investigative committee should now present the results of its study to the consultative body which fixed August 10 as the date for its next meeting —which is significantly, five days after the date indicated for the termination of the OLAS Conference. U. S. sources reported that Secretary of State Dean Rusk will attend the next session, which is interpreted as U. S. pressure on the OAS.

POSSIBLE AGREEMENTS

"All that can be expected from the Meeting is greater economic pressure against Cuba," commented newsman Tom Wicker in **The New York Times.** President Raul Leoni himself affirmed in Caracas that he was in favor of settling the matter through political measures. Nevertheless, U. S. racist representative Armistead I. Selden proposed the placing of naval patrols around the island of Cuba to intensify the blockade.
President Joaquín Balaguer of the Dominican Republic also expressed himself to be in favor of military action, and similar stands were adopted by the governments of Argentine, Bolivia, Paraguay, Colombia, Panama and Nicaragua. However, the slowness of the taking of action against Cuba has been noted from the very beginning.

DEFENSIVE EFFORTS

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba declared that "In view of the frantic campaign of violence, aggression and war," unleashed by "the lackey government of Venezuela, evidently following instructions of its master in Washington," the Cuban people "will redouble our defensive efforts, without abandoning our ardous and increasingly successful tasks in the cultural, technological and economic development of our country —whether under the present economic blockade or, if necessary, under a total blockade — because at this stage no force in the world can destroy our Revolution."
The CPC stressed that "The question before the peoples is posed in this manner: to capitulate before imperialism or to resist and struggle. Resistance and struggle in all eras of history means to face the risks that resistance and struggle imply, just as capitulation means simply to capitulate.
"Our Party and our people," continued the declaration of Cuba's Communist Party, "will not shirk their revolutionary responsibility to the world, nor will they flee from battle, with all its consequences and sacrifices, in any form or on any field where imperialism decides to face us."

olas FIRST CONFERENCE

PROCLAMATION

FIDEL CASTRO AT THE CLOSING SESSION

Proclamation of the General Declaration of the first Conference of the Organization of Latin American Solidarity. August 10, 1967

1. That making the Revolution constitutes a right and a duty of the peoples of Latin America.
2. That the Revolution in Latin America has its deepest historical roots in the liberation movement against European colonialism of the 19th century and against imperialism of this century. The epic of the peoples of America and the great class battles that our peoples have carried out against imperialism in earlier decades constitute the source of historical inspiration of the Latin American revolutionary movement.
3. That the essential content of the Revolution in Latin America is to be found in its confrontation with imperialism and the bourgeois and landowner oligarchies. Consequenly, the character of the Revolution is the struggle for national independence, emancipation from the oligarchies, and the socialist road for its complete economic and social development.
4. That the principles of Marxism-Leninism guide the revolutionary movement of Latin America.
5. That armed revolutionary struggle constitutes the fundamental course of the Revolution in Latin America.
6. That all other forms of struggle must serve to advance and not to retard the development of this fundamental course, which in armed struggle.
7. That, for the majority of the countries of the continent, the problems of organising, initiating, developing and crowning the armed struggle at present constitutes the inmediate and fundamental task of the revolutionary movement.
8. That those countries in which this task has not yet been undertaken nevertheless will regard it as an inevitable sequence in the development of revolutionary struggle in their countries.
9. That the historic responsibility of furthering revolution in each one of these countries belongs to the people and to their revolutionary vanguards in each country.
10. That the guerrilla is the nucleus of the liberation armies, and guerrilla warfare constitutes the most effective method of initiating and developing the revolutionary struggle in most of our countries.
11. That the leadership of the Revolution demands, as an organizational principle, the existence of a unified politico-military command as a guarantee of success.
12. That the most effective solidarity that the revolutionary movements may practice among themselves, is the furthering and the culmination of their own struggle in their respective countries.
13. That the solidarity with Cuba and the collaboration and cooperation with the armed revolutionary movement is an undeferrable international duty of every anti-imperialist organization of the continent.

14. The Cuban Revolution, as a symbol of triumph of the armed revolutionary movement, constitutes the vanguard of the Latin American anti-imperialist movement. The peoples that develop the armed struggle, as they advance along this road put themselves in the vanguard.
15. That the peoples who have been directly subjected by colonialism of the European countries, in order to achieve their liberation, must have an immediate and basic objective: that of struggling for independence, and uniting with the general struggle of the continent as the only means of avoiding being absorbed into U. S. neocolonialism.
16. That the Second Declaration of Havana that expresses the beautiful and glorious revolutionary tradition of the past 150 years of American history, constitutes a document outlining the program of the Latin American Revolution which has been confirmed, deepened, enriched and made more radical by the peoples of this continent during the last five years.
17. That the peoples of Latin America have no differences with any other peoples in the world and extend their hand of friendship also to the peoples of the United States, whom they exhort to undertake the struggle against the repressive policy carried out by imperialist monopolies.
18. That the Latin American struggle strengthens its ties of solidarity with the peoples of Asia and Africa and those of the socialist countries, the workers of the capitalist nations, and especially with the black population of the United States which suffers class exploitation, poverty, unemployment, racial discrimination and the denial of their most elementary human rights, and which constitutes an important force within the revolutionary struggle.
19. That the heroic struggle waged by the people of Viet Nam gives invaluable aid to all revolutionary peoples who are fighting imperialism, and constitutes an inspiring example to the peoples of Latin America.
20. That we have approved the Statutes and created the Permanent Committee, in Havana, of the Organization of Latin American Solidarity, which constitutes the genuine representation of the Latin American peoples.

We, the revolutionaries of our America, the America south of the Rio Grande, successors of the men who gave us our first independence, armed with an undaunted will to fight, and with revolutionary and scientific guidance, and with nothing to lose but the chains which oppress us

ASSERT:

That our struggle constitutes a decisive contribution to the historic struggle of humanity to liberate itself from slavery and exploitation.

THE DUTY OF EVERY REVOLUTIONARY IS TO MAKE THE REVOLUTION

Fragments from the Speech by the Prime Minister of Cuba, Major Fidel Castro

Could we say that the Conference has achieved a great ideological victory? Yes, that is our opinion. Does this mean that the agreements were reached without an ideological struggle? No, the agreements were not reached without ideological struggle.

> *A deep sense of responsibility prevailed among many of the delegates to the Conference because what was sought was the achievement of a useful, positive effort, beneficial to the revolutionary movement, and adverse to imperialism.*

It was not only the Conference that took place during these days. There were certain events that made the delegates to this Conference not only participants in discussions and ideological and political agreements, but also witnesses to and judges of the activities of imperialism against our country.

> *Is it that the Government of the United States doesn't feel responsible for these acts? We directly accuse the U. S. Government and hold it responsible for these acts; we accuse President Johnson and hold him responsible for the fact that plans were drawn up in the United States for the assassination of government leaders of another State, using the most abhorrent methods, and these plans were not only being carried out —in part— but were also brazenly made public.*

Is it our purpose perhaps to convince the OAS? Who is going to make a joke about such a thing? We don't intend to convince the OAS, we don't intend to impede OAS agreements. We have other ways of impeding OAS agreements!

The imperialists pretend to commit with impunity all kinds of misdeeds in the world. They bomb North Viet Nam daily with hundreds of planes: that is the imperialist system, those are the laws of imperialism. They invade the fraternal Dominician Republic, with 40 000 soldiers, they openly set up a puppet government there with their occupation troops; that is the order of imperialism, those are the laws of imperialism. A state such as Israel, at the service of the imperialist aggressors, gets hold of a great part of the territory of other countries, establishes itself there at the very banks of the Suez Canal and is already claiming the right to participate in the control of that Canal—so all that's lacking now is for them to ask that a pipe-line be installed from the Aswan Dam to irrigate the Sinai Peninsula—and they are there, and nobody knows how long they'll stay, and the longer it takes the longer they'll stay: that is the order imperialism wants to establish, those are the laws imperialism wants to impose upon the world. To send missions of murderers with poisoned bullets to kill leaders of other States, to constantly send armed infiltration groups to a country they have been harassing for eight years. That is the imperialist order! Those are the laws imperialism wants to impose upon the world! And we are a small country, but we will not accept that order! We will not accept those laws!

Because it must be said that the imperialists are annoyed by a lot of things, but most of all they are annoyed by the visit of a Negro leader — of a leader of the most exploited and most oppressed sector of the United States — by the strengthening of relations between the revolutionary movement of Latin America and the revolutionary movement inside the United States.

They say that they have no program. Well, that shows that often a movement can begin before the program. But it is also false to say that a movement has no program; what is happening is that the Negro sector of the population of the United States at this moment, overwhelmed by the daily repression, has concentrated its energies on defending itself, on resisting, on struggle. But it will not be long before they will discover something that is inevitable according to the laws of society, the law of history. And that is, that from this Negro sector,—because it is the most exploited and repressed sector, the most brutally treated in the United States,—will arise the revolutionary movement in the United States.

And we believe it is necessary that revolutionary ideas prevail. If revolutionary ideas should be defeated, the Revolution in Latin America would be lost or would be indefinitely delayed. Ideas can hasten a process — or they can considerably delay it. This does not mean that action must wait for the triumph of ideas, and this is one of the essential points of the matter. There are those who believe that it is necessary for ideas to triumph among the masses before initiating action, and there are others who understand that action is one of the most efficient instruments for bringing about the triumph of ideas among the masses.

Different words have been used: if this is the only road, if it is not the only road, if it is excluding, if it is not excluding. And the Conference has been very clear in this respect. It does not say only *road, although it might very well say only road; it says fundamental road, and the other forms of struggle must be subordinated to it and, in the long run, it is the only road. To use the word "only" —even though the sense of the word is understood and even if it were true, might lead to errors about the imminence of the struggle.*

All these ideas have been gaining strength, have been maintained for a long time — a long series of theses. I am not going to say that the revolutionary movement and the communist movement in general have ceased to play a role — even an important role — in the history of the revolutionary process and of revolutionary ideas in Latin America. The communist movement developed a method, a style, and, in some aspects, even took on the characteristics of a religion. And we sincerely believe that that character should be left behind.

We are deeply satisfied, and it is with great joy, not nostalgia; with happiness, not sadness; that we see the ranks of the revolutionary movement increasing, the revolutionary organizations multiplying, Marxist-Leninist spirit making headway — that is, Marxist-Leninist ideas — and we felt deeply satisfied when the final resolution of this Conference proclaimed that the revolutionary movement in Latin America is being guided by Marxist-Leninist ideas.

And we must say that, as a Marxist-Leninist Party, we belong to OLAS; as a Marxist-Leninist Party we belong not to a small group within the revolutionary movement, but to an organization which comprises all true revolutionaries, and we will not be prejudiced against any revolutionary.

The guerrilla is bound to be the nucleus of the revolutionary movement. This does not mean that the guerrilla movement can rise without any previous work; it does not mean that the guerrilla movement is something that can

exist without political direction. No! We do not deny the role of the leading organizations, we do not deny the role of the political organizations. The guerrilla is organized by a political movement, by a political organization. What we believe incompatible with correct ideas of guerrilla struggle is the idea of directing the guerrilla from the cities. And in the conditions of our continent, it will be very difficult to suppress the role of the guerrilla.

And the case of Venezuela is a very worthwhile case to take into consideration because if we do not learn from the lessons of Venezuela. we never will learn. Of course, the guerrilla movement in Venezuela, is far from being crushed, in spite of treason. And we, gentlemen, have every right to use the word treason. We know that there are some that do not like it; a few will even feel offended. I wish that some day they will be convinced that they have no reason to be offended unless they carry in their hearts the seeds of treason.

The case of Venezuela is eloquent in many aspects, because in Venezuela a group, —which was in the leadership of a party with all these wrong concepts—, almost achieved what neither imperialism nor the repressive forces of the regime could achieve. The Party, or rather not the Party but the rightist leadership of the Venezuelan Party, has come to adopt the position practically of that of an enemy of revolutionaries, an instrument of imperialism and the oligarchy.

Maybe some day the Venezuelan people will ask them about the millions of dollars they collected throughout the world on behalf of the guerrilla movement — which they abandoned; whose members they left without shoes, clothes, food, and even the bare necessities; and which they have accused and attacked without scruples of any kind.

Our position does not refer to commerce; it never referred to commerce. We refer to the problem of financial and technical help of any socialist state to the Latin American oligarchies. Let these thing not be confused; do not try to confuse one thing with another! Some socialist states even offered dollar loans to Mr. Lleras Restrepo because he was in difficulties with the International Monetary Fund.

And if that is true, if that is the case, and if internationalism exists, if solidarity is a word worthy of respect, the least that we can expect of any state of the socialist camp is that it will lend no financial or technical assistance of any type to those governments.

And this country has never hesitated in the least to put our political principles above economic interests, for if this were not so we would have found a million reasons, to reconcile ourselves with imperialism a long time ago, more so in these times when it has become quite fashionable to do so.

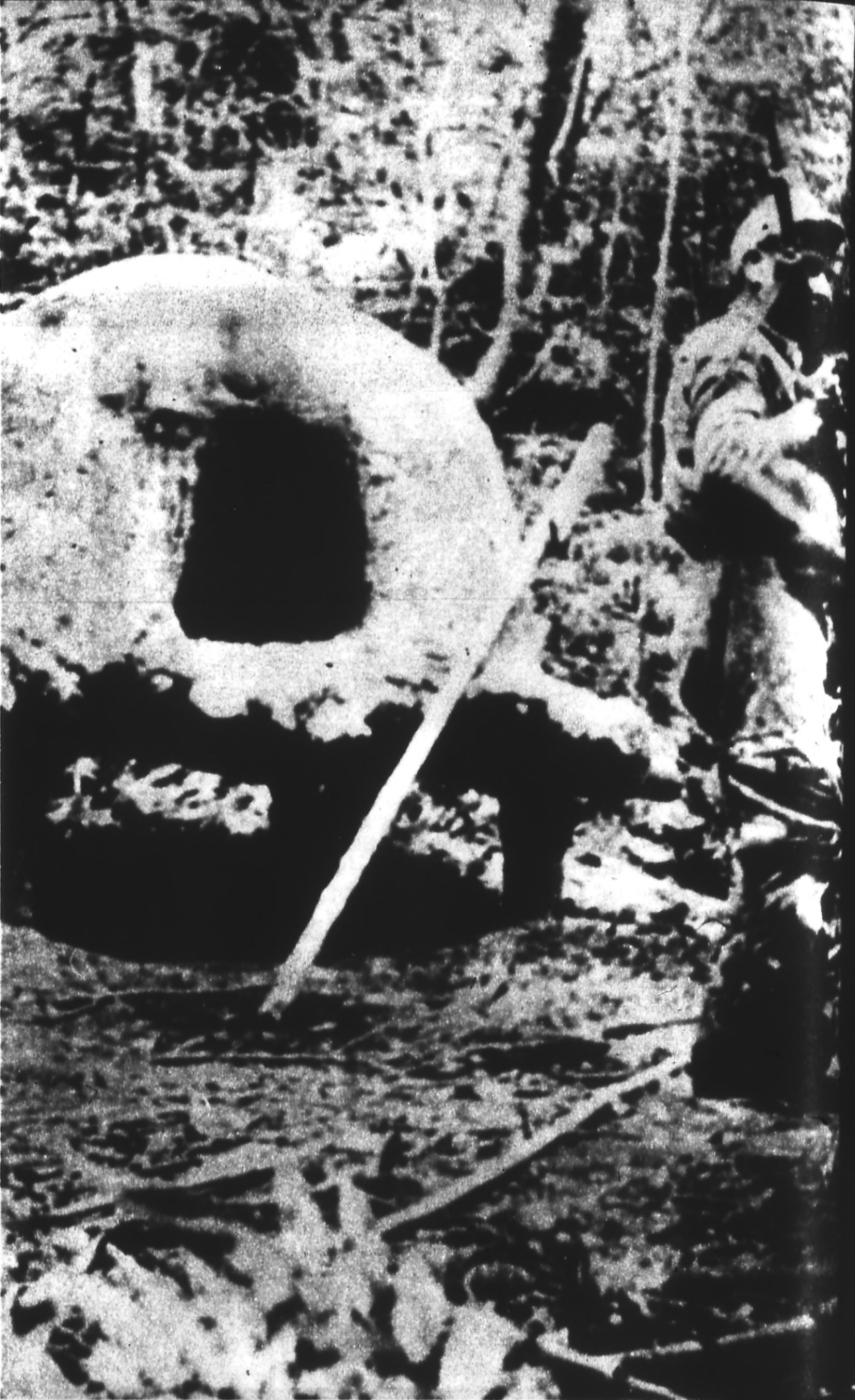
This continent is pregnant with revolution. Sooner or later, it will be born. Its birth may be more or less complicated, but it is inevitable. We do not have the slightest doubt. There will be victories, there will be reverses, there will be advances, there will be retreats: but the arrival of a new era, the victory of the peoples in the face of injustice, in the face of exploitation, in the face of oligarchy, in the face of imperialism. whatever the mistaken ideas that may be obstacles on the road, they are unavoidable.

We do not condemn anyone a priori, we do not close the doors to anyone, we do not attack anyone en masse, in a block; we express our ideas, we defend our ideas, we debate these ideas. And we have absolute confidence in the revolutionaries, in the true revolutionaries, in the true communists. Those will not fail the revolution, the same as our Revolution will never fail the revolutionary movement of Latin America.

The resolutions of OLAS do not mean that everything is done. They do not mean that the struggle is past. The Tricontinental, also, had resolutions, and there were those who signed the resolutions and forgot all about them afterwards.

The fact that we have a revolutionary people does not mean that there are no antagonisms, no contradictions. Here we find the contradiction with counterrevolution and imperialism, and there are also contradictions with those who share these ideas of the reactionary gentlemen of the Venezuelan Party.

And I am going to tell you what we really think: there is no reason why there should be leading peoples or leading men! It is leading ideas that are needed!



"Now is the time of the furnaces, and only light should be seen"..

José Martí, as quoted by Maior Ernesto Che Guevara.

BOLIVIA:
TIME OF THE FURNACES
ripples in the water

PRACTICE AND THEORY

The fact that the mental image is well-known does not make the saying less effective: a pebble dropped into the water makes ever widening circles. In line with this scientific principle and leaving behind all literary reference, the phenomenon should be analyzed —the 5-mouthold— guerrilla front in Bolivia.

Its appearance is not just chance, for this focal point of guerrilla action —on analyzing the elements that surround it and that led to it— appears to stem from a coordinated tactical-strategic line, related to an all-round view of armed struggle: specifically for the Latin American continent, but in line with the international situation.

The appearance of this focal point, there, at this time, substantiates Régis Debray's theoretical points of view stated in **Revolution in Revolution?** It is indisputable that the interrelation between revolutionary practice and theory are shaped in finished form in the appearance of a guerrilla front in Bolivia. Even more so if we consider the experiences of Venezuela, Guatemala and Colombia —with their successes and failures— which until the moment are being applied, in Bolivia, with an iniquitious certainty, just as Debray predicted, and faithfully following the pattern outlined in Che Guevara's book

Guerrilla Warfare. Chronologically, Debray's book precedes events in Bolivia. However, in honor of historic justice, we could say that events in Bolivia preceded Debray's book if we consider previous work in the peasant zone prior to the appearance of the guerrilla focus, the area's objective conditions, training of the guerrilla forces, the violent sharpening of the subjective conditions, etc. This covers a long and undetermined period of time. And fundamental among the elements involved in this historic process in the making —the interaction of theory and practice— is the message sent to the Executive Secretariat of OSPAAAL by Major Ernesto Guevara last April. If Debray proposes, on the basis of the Cuban Revolution, that military foci are more decisive for the future of Latin America than "political foci" are, Che's message could be considered an extension, on an international scale, of that proposal. Here we see the global antimperialist strategy.

"Let us sum up our hopes for victory: total destruction of imperialism by eliminating its firmest bulwark: the oppression exercized by the United States of America. To carry out, as a tactical method, the peoples' gradual liberation, one by one or in groups: driving the enemy into a difficult fight away from its own territory; dismantling all its sustaining bases, that is, its dependent territories.

"This means a long war. And, we say it once more, a cruel war. Let no one fool himself at the outset, and let no one hesitate to set out for fear of the consequences it might bring on his people. It is almost the only hope for victory. We cannot ignore the call of the hour. Viet Nam is showing the way, with its constant lesson of heroism, its tragic and daily lesson of struggle and death for the attainment of final victory."

Thus, the war in Viet Nam gives an "image" and an example of how the United States proposes to take over the world and revolutionary obligations are imposed by such a situation. "To create two, three, many Viet Nams," is the way Che put it, not because this is desirable but because it is an imperative in the face of imperialist global strategy.

In fact, U.S. ruling circles also plan a common strategy that brings them together, and if the Rusk group has interests in Asia as opposed to those of the Kennedy group in Latin America, it is no less certain that today Rusk speaks of the United States "not being able to close its eyes to subversion" in its own backyard and that Robert Kennedy asks (in the Spanish press) nothing less than whether or not the United States will risk war with China. The line that divides its economic and military interests is becoming finer by the minute, and the question arises: "Could we face several Viet Nams?" The Pentagon answers in the affirmative. But it is obviously basing its answer on the assumption that the United States is "fighting in Viet Nam with a possibility of victory."

The ways in which they channel hysteria are classic: they play up a new aggression against Cuba —the **Jackson Daily News** predicts conflicts in the Guantanamo area for the end of the year— and urge the Latin American governments to speed up the creation of a continental force for repression (see OAS-CUBA, page 29). In Bolivia they speak of the presence of foreigners. Che is seen everywhere with a bullet-proof vest. Debray pays for being

a thinker, for standing up for his beliefs. This is the "focus", and in only five months observers must pause to analyze, for different reasons, —but mostly they pause to arrive at conclusions on the aggression on Viet Nam or the Middle East.

PREPARATION AND SPEED

The news was not officially released in La Paz until March 27, although later versions from the petroleum zone of Camiri were that strange displacements were being observed in the area. The U.S. Ambassador, Douglas Henderson, submitted his report on April 10, and two days later Colonel Milton Buds, of the U.S. Air Force Mission at Balboa Heights, Panama, landed in Santa Cruz, the most important city in the vast eastern region.
What was originally described as an incident broke upon the following scene:

a) POLITICAL PERSPECTIVE

The 1964 counterrevolutionary coup halted a process begun in 1952 which, in 1963-64, began to yield positive results. Victor Paz Estenssoro left the country, and Bolivia entered on the political era of Barrientos and a military clique which leaned to the right, at moments influenced by the Social Christian Democrats and the falangists. The "two-headed" government showed the contradictions — which now appeared to be insurmountable — between the Air Force colonel and General Alfredo Ovando, who had better contacts with the Army.
The National Revolutionary Movement (MNR), Juan Lechin's Revolutionary Party of the Nationalist Left, the Social Democratic Rightist Party and the opposition Christian Democratic Party began to recover from the shock, and finally arrived at a common stand after a **coup d'etat** that was intended to "confront military despotism".

b) SOCIO-ECONOMIC PERSPECTIVES

Barrientos was confronted by the most serious of denationalitations —those of mining and oil— and started to act in accordance with the interests of the U.S. military mission which backed him. A reported trip of Barrientos to the Argentine strengthened the Gulf Oil in face of the weakening of oil fields Fiscales Bolivianos, and Subsidiaries of US Steel took possession of mining complexes maneuvring very close to the important deposits of cadmium.

At the same time the agrarian reform bogged down and the salaries of the workers of the basic export industry —the diabolical metal, tin— diminished. Milluni, Catavi, Siglo XX are points known to the international press, thanks to the overwhelming repressions which took place against the miners, the most powerfull potential force of that populated region of the Andes.
The regime, in a certain way, inherited governmental support of the peasantry, mainly localized in Cochabamba, where Barrientos himself exercises a "bossism", but a reversible situation in a determined period.
Among the small bourgeoisie and the students, national roots are to be found (fundamentally in the MNR, the PRIN, and in a lesser degree the PCB and the POR) which spread into mobilizations of the class allies of the miners.

c) MILITARY PERSPECTIVE

Alfredo Ovando is a veteran of the Chaco War, an army defeat-

ed by Paraguayan soldiers and dragging along its demoralization since the '30s. **The New York Times** (April 21) offered a figure of six thousand men-in-arms, not more than two thousand prepared for combat, and set the annual figure at nine thousand recruits. More accurate data give thirty thousand badly-trained soldiers. Of this number —the majority comes from the higher levels, unfit for tropical maneuvers the units chosen known so far are: one battalion in Challapata, in the high plains; a corps of "Rangers" stationed in the mining areas, and the Center of Instruction of Special Troops (CIST) near Cochabamba, estimated at about eight hundred men.

When the government of Paz Estensoro was overthrown the defence budget was 80 million Bolivian pesos, and by the end of 1965, in accordance with U.S. sources, it was nearly 200 million pesos. This budget increases when certain forces are in "operation," such as the officers of the special units who get double pay. The project of "peasant militias" was rapidly and significantly given up in March.

d) LOCAL GEOGRAPHIC PERSPECTIVE

The first actions make Barrientos speak of a "red triangle": Camiri (30,000 inhabitants), Lagunillas, and Monteagudo in the boundaries of Chuquisaca and Santa Cruz. The government decreed the provinces of Hernando Siles and Hermanos Calvo department of Chuquisaca; Valle Grande and Cordillera, department of Santa Cruz, as emergency zones. The geographic structure is exceptionally difficult: jungle region at the South Eastern part of the country, reaching to the refinery of Camiri, and the Bolivian-Argentine railroad. The napalm bombing of Ñancahuazu and the Sierra de Inca Huasi revealed: from Lagunillas to the region of the deep canyons formed by the Ñancahuazu river, a heavy wall of forest and rocks —carps of up to 300 meters rising perpendicularly above the river— covers the habitat of the viper "yoyó", jaguars and small wild boars. A torrid, humid jungle.

If the access is practically impossible for the counter-guerrilla forces— which are supposed to come down from 3000 meters above sea level to 500 — the reason is reversed for the "focus." Marcel. . Niedergang made the comment:

"The excellent preparation of the Bolivian guerrilla foci, recognized even by the U.S. and Argentine advisers, justify our interest for listening to the men who, in Santa Cruz, seem to be in a position of knowing the intentions of the guerrilla fighters. "This zone has not been selected by chance", they tell us. Not only for the terrain but for the escape routes. From Ñancahuazu there is easy access to the three levels of Bolivia: the Camiri Plain, the valleys of Cochabamba and the plateau through the canyons."

As a matter of fact, the lightning actions (at the closing of this edition), were carried out in Samaypata, and El Dorado, over 100 kilometers fron the centre of alarm. The military commands determined that a guerrilla column had operated in the strategic road Santa Cruz-Cochabamba and that those forces had an average speed of march of 40 kilometers per day.

CONFLICT AND INTERNATIONALIZATION

The circumference of this irradiating focus is perfectly extendable

beyond the uncontrollable Bolivian frontiers — principally with Brazil, by the ample belt of Rio Grande — according to the analysts of whatever tendency, like Virginia Prowett, "Latin American Affairs" of the **Daily News** (May 17): "a regime of the extreme left would seize power in Bolivia and would prepare new outbreaks in Argentina, Chile, Paraguay, Brazil and Peru".

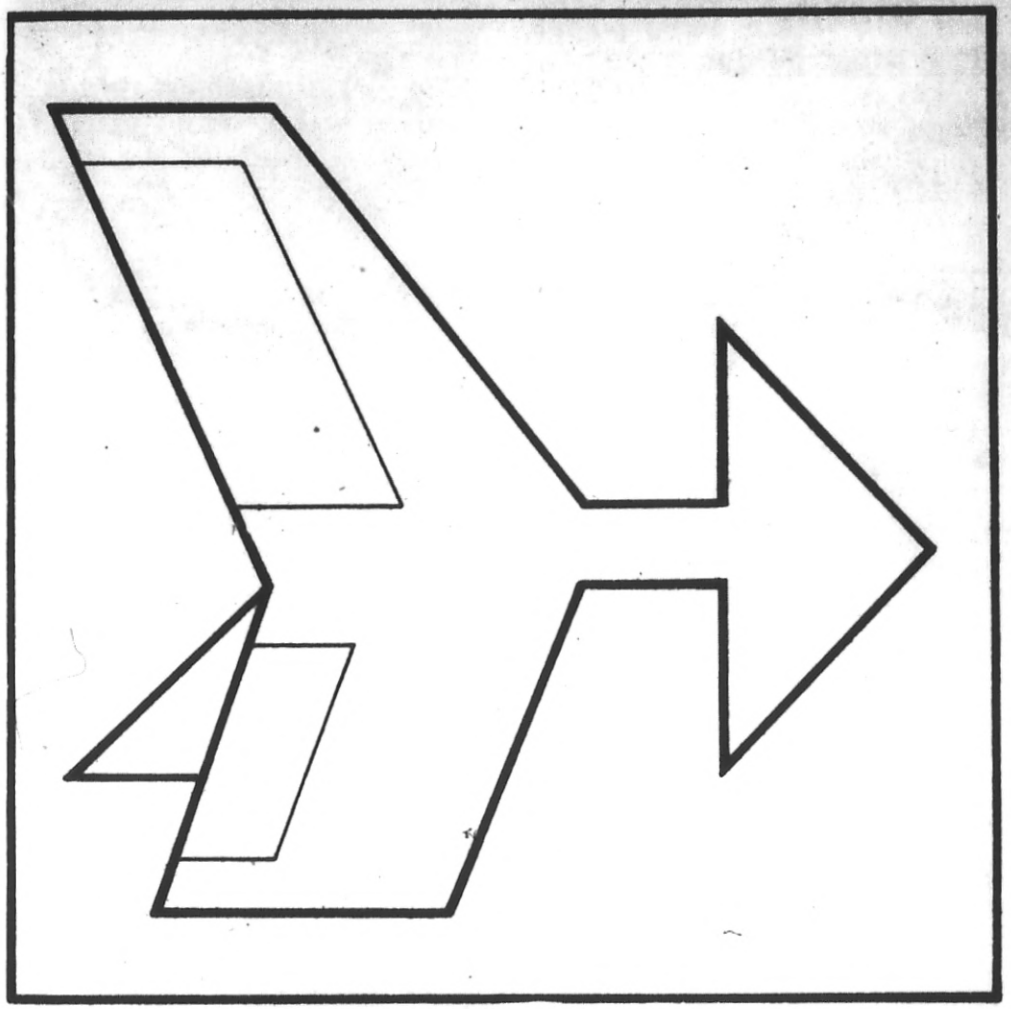
Independently of any speculation, the sudden alarm complicated the military problems of Argentine with the fast trip to Buenos Aires of the Chief of the General Staff of the Bolivian Air Force, Colonel Kolle Cueto. What in Argentine — and not only in Argentine — had delayed up to then in the field of Military Intelligence (special meeting of the Argentine Security Corps to inform the Uruguayan government of the supposed stop of Che Guevara at Carrasco Airport) was complicated in the spheres of the foreign ministry and the three Forces. In Brazil, anti-guerrilla operations of great scope were carried out in Peru and in Ecuador they are already reporting resurgence of guerrilla outbreaks.

In this problem of a military front against subversion, the case of the Bolivian is also very special. The half admitted Argentine help in weapons and men, and the projected closing of the border, denied several times, irritates the Bolivian-Chile problem over the lack of an outlet to the sea and brings to mind the conducted frontier problems between Chile and Argentine. Who helps who, and for what? is the fearful question. The "kept secret" of the needed military and economic help to the Bolivian regime (two of its special corps already were taken by surprise by the guerrillas), is the only function of the Bolivian problem itself and the national demoralization that this may cause. The question belongs, almost exclusively —except for local imponderables — to the global strategy that U.S. imperialism has implanted in the continent and on its other fronts: Viet Nam, the Middle East, and sometimes even in intractable Europe.

The quantitative escalation in Bolivia — the State Department admits 100 advisors and instructors occupied in controlling what it impractically and anti-theoretically calls the "the foci," when it really is a focus and its projections are necessarily affected by the problems inherent in the Southern Cone (Napalm can not be used against Chile?) and by the appearence of other foci (Peru, Brazil?). In this aspect, when giving "aid", they must bear in mind the problems which arose since Santo Domingo — where 2000 "advisors" still remain —and the resulting Inter-American Peace Force. This combination will only allow strict dealings, and these may turn against it—for instance, the old ambition of de United States, mainly in Argentinne and Brazil, for the creation of a local industry of war material. Again strategic, economic and military interests which clash and are in direct relation with the financial backing and the supply of raw material from its **backyard:** the Venezuelan oil in relation to that of the Middle East (see Oil Strategy, page), and the aggression against Viet Nam.

In any case it seems probable, before the impetus shown by guerrilla activities, that the conflicts must be "internationalized". The United States will be forced to intervene even more directly to try to curb the ripples resulting from the impact of this guerrilla stone. This is the **time of the furnaces:** It is a new Viet Nam.

MIDDLE



EAST

5 DAYS WITH A FUTURE

OIL STRATEGY

Jeune Afrique predicted: "This map covers the scene of facts. It continues to be useful. Keep it."

Boumedienne and El Atassi: debate of the problem.

Dayan: dissensions?

Nasser: Eleven years after Bandoeng.

For each military defeat a resurgence of revolutionary spirit.

middle east

5 DAYS WITH A FUTURE

With a provocative military parade in the Israeli sector of Jerusalem on May 15 there began —in reality continued on— the latest in the series of crises in the Middle East. This was paralelled by an increase in the number of Israeli troops in the valley of Galilee on the Syrian border. Two days later, well equipped military convoys rumbled through Cairo for the Sinai, in accord with the mutual defense treaty signed with Syria. Israeli Prime Minister Levi Eshkol was threatening to take Damascus.

Following this, the government of the United Arab Republic requested that the UN emergency forces, the "blue helmets," be withdrawn from the Gaza Strip, where they had been since 1956. U Thant responded to the request affirmatively. On the 22nd the UAR announced a blockade of the Strait of Tiran in the Gulf of Akaba. The purpose was to shut the gulf to the Israeli port of Elath, from which a pipe-line leaves for the large refinery of Haifa, on the Mediterranean.

The UAR-Jordanian pact signed by President Nasser and King Hussein on May 31, and the appointment of General Moshe Dayan, well versed in strategy, as Israel's Defense Minister only 24 hours later, constituted two outstanding events at the outset of the war. The expected aggression broke out in the early hours of June 5. In less than a week Israel gained advantageous positions that would permit her to stand up to the forces of conciliation moving in the UN General Assembly. Her positions of strength were: Jerusalem; the strategic Sharm el Sheikh, a 20-kilometer strip that runs into Syria; the eastern zones of the Suez Canal, near Port Said; the entire Gaza Strip; and the west bank of the Jordan River.

Observers called it the "Five Day War." But in any case those 5 days have a long, uncertain future.

The Second World War ended in 1945; in 1948, the first Arab-Israeli war took place. The historic Bandung Conference (the five principles and the concept of non-alignment) was held in 1955; in 1956 the second Arab-Israeli clash took place. The First Solidarity

Conference of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America was held in Havana in 1966; in June 1967, Israel invaded the United Arab Republic, Jordan and Syria, gaining a great deal of territory.

A new balance of power had followed the defeat of Nazi-Fascism in the Second World War. From the ashes of the conflict arose the socialist camp of Eastern Europe, backed by the now much stronger Soviet Union. The problems of the colonial and neocolonial world of that time —China, the Middle East, Indonesia, the Asian subcontinent, Southeast Asia— would be considered in the light of the new correlation of forces. Israel came into being in part of the British mandate of Palestine as a result of a United Nations agreement that was rejected by the Arab monarchies and that precipitated the first armed clash.

Gamal Abdel Nasser, who overthrew the regime of King Farouk in Egypt in 1952 and exemplified the aspirations of the Arab people, attended the Bandung Conference. Afro-Asian non-alignment as an idea and as a grouping was born there: its exponents were Sukarno, Nehru, Nasser and, soon afterward, Kwame Nkrumah, Sekou Toure and others. A year later, Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal in answer to the incredible Baghdad Pact and British military plans. Anthony Eden and Guy Mollet gave the "go-ahead" to the bombing of Port Said, while the Israeli army, led by Moshe Dayan, invaded the Sinai.

Eleven years passed before a third encounter between Israel and her Arab neighbors. These were eleven decisive years: large scale decolonizing of Africa, the Congo crisis, the victory in Algeria, Playa Girón and the October Crisis in the Caribbean, Viet Nam, Santo Domingo. In January 1966, Havana was the site of the First Tricontinental Conference, which acclaimed the guerrilla upsurge in South Viet Nam, Laos, Thailand, the Portuguese Colonies in Africa, Venezuela, Colombia, Guatemala and other areas of the third world. It was agreed to hold the Second Tricontinental Conference in Cairo in 1968.

The consequences of the first armed encounter in Palestine, from which the state of Israel emerged triumphant, are fundamental in the historic development of North Africa and the Middle East. Lessons were to be drawn from the military defeat of Arab armies "trained by Great Britain, and headed by men such as the well-known Glubb Pacha and paid by kings who kept their peoples enslaved. The wind of change began to blow. In Syria and Lebanon, vigorous labor movements drew correct conclusions and promoted a revolutionary line.

In Egypt, the free officers' movement represented — until the beginning of the struggle by the National Liberation Front of Algeria in 1954— the acme of anti-feudal and anti-imperialist Arab nationalism. Every attempt by the Arab leadership to negotiate, dangerously, with the government of David Ben Gurion met with popular repudiation. This was clearly shown in the physical elimination of King Abdallah of Jordan (1951) and of the Lebanese Prime Minister, Ryad Sohl.

The Suez episode was in part consequence of the 1948 war, of course. It was the pivot of the

second conflict, in which European powers took an open and criminal part. France and Great Britain now faced an Arab world roused by the watchwords of Colonel Nasser. The "pact-mania" of the late John Foster Dulles also demonstrated Washington's growing interest and interference in the Middle East. Things grew complicated for all: it was not just a question of "protecting" Israel, but also of preventing Nasserism from spreading to neighboring Arab regions.

Following occupation of the Gaza Strip by United Nations emergency forces (1956), a chain reaction took place throughout the Arab world: civil war in Lebanon and defeat of Camille Chamoun's pro-western government, despite intervention by the U.S. Sixth Fleet; overthrow of the Feisal-Noury Said twosome in Iraq by the progressive military movement of Colonel Karim Kassem; establishment of the United Arab Republic, as the states of Syria and Egypt united under a single goverment,

In 1962 the Algerian national liberation struggle won victory and the Imanate of Yemen fell into the hands of republican, anti-feudal forces. Finally. on the eve of the third conflagration between the state of Israel and the Arab people, the revolutionary government of the Baas Party Syrian Regional Command makes its appearance.

History has shown that each military defeat of the Arab peoples —pitted in unequal conditions against Israel's polished war apparatus, tenaciously built up with U.S. and European aid— has always been followed by a resurgence of revolutionary spirit and action in the Middle East.

A journalist of **Le Figaro** (the French press proved to be particularly hostile to the Arabs) remarked that Israel had won the war in the early hours of June 5. This statement was somewhat exaggerated, undoubtedly, although the facts show that Israel achieved her initial objectives. When the sun set that evening, the Egyptian army was the loser: airplanes that would never take off, destroyed at the airports; lines broken at a number of points; confusion. Surprise tactics had served their purpose for the astute Israeli military chiefs Dayan and Rabin, in a calculated "rapid" action of a kind known only too well.

A clean sweep is being made among Egyptian officers. President Nasser, who has taken over direct control of the cabinet, the party and the armed forces, seems tired of "professional" officers with big paunches and little courage. The bravery of Egyptian and Palestinian soldiers at Gaza and Sharm el Sheikh has been duly recognized; of their superiors, not a word.

The Jordanian Arab Legion fought, there can be no doubt of this. But reigning in Amman is a contradictory young man, a sworn enemy of the Arab left, who went so far as to break relations with Damascus at the exact moment when Israel was concentrating troops on the Syrian border. This monarch has been characterized by his constant good relations with the friends of Israel — the United States, Great Britain and the German Federal Republic — and for his implacable persecution of progressive Palestinian elements.

News from Syria, and a brief analysis of what took place there, show that army and people resisted heroically. Rabin wanted to deal a blow that would weaken the Damascus government and give Syrian internal reaction the

golden opportunity to carry out a coup d'etat. But workers, farmers and soldiers closed ranks around Nuredin el Atassi and Prime Minister Zuayen. Israeli casualties were high during the invasion of rough terrain territory where the "smashthrough" on the sands of Sinai could not be repeated.

Israel, which continued on the offensive after the unconditional cease-fire disgracefully ordered by the Security Council, tried to prove the thesis that aggression is possible by a government under the protection of imperialism in a certain area, "without major consequences". Levi Eshkol's government extended its radius of action over the conquered territories, meanwhile staging a weak comedy of "dissensions" within the coalition government formed by the Mapai, Rafi and Liberal parties. Claiming that borders can and should be "readjusted". this state upholds the theory of "defensive war" conceived by Ben Gurion and Moshe Dayan. It calls on history, ethnology and religion to back it up — grounds that are always on hand.

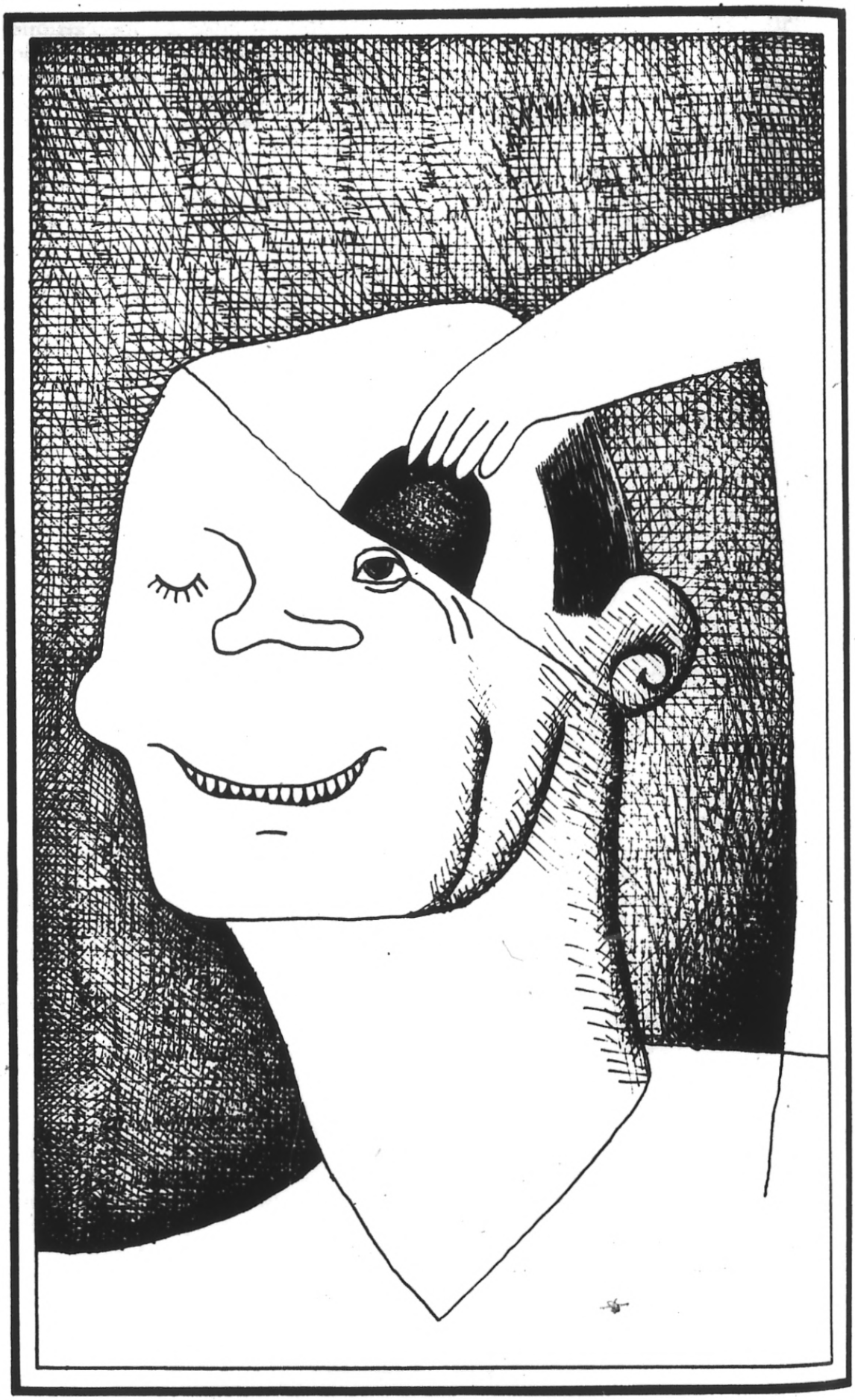
The declarations of President Houari Boumedienne in Algiers, of El Atassi in Damascus and of Nasser in Cairo, backed **de facto** by the governments of Irak, Yemen, the Sudan and Mauretania, paved the way for a thorough discussion of the question of Pan Arabism — a concept challenged by the Israeli aggression but vital to the thousands of Palestinians who have for years been suffering one of the great tragedies of mankind.

Like any other "pan", Pan Arabism cannot avoid discussion of the class struggle within each country under its compass, much less after a hot war and on the eve of another war, longer and inevitable. This was the central theme of the Seminar of Arab Socialists held in Algiers last May under the auspices of the National Liberation Front, the Arab Socialist Union and the Syrian Baas Party.

"National democracy" and the nations which exemplify it are going through a virtual ordeal by fire in these years: Indonesia and Ghana are the most typical cases. Observers of the Arab world have consistently pointed out that when the transition to socialism takes longer than necessary, when "national democracy" materializes to end its days under the baton of a bureaucratic class, then the conquests of the revolution for national liberation are endangered. On the foreign front, the alliance of genuinely anti-imperialist forces is weakened; the enemy redoubles its efforts against the last redoubts of the revolutionary movement.

Occurrence of aggression spotlights the evils of this delayed transition and the impossibility of a "single front" with antagonist classes and interests. It is also worthwhile, in the hour of the Arab revolution and eleven years after the Bandung Conference, to redefine the concept of non-alignment. If the major contradiction of the third world is between imperialism and national liberation, it is now time to move —or run— from the traditional Afro-Asian non alignment to total tricontinental alignment.

Leaders of the NLF and of the Baas Party have said again and again that all resources should be used to advance the struggle of the Arab peoples. This includes an oil boycott, shutting down of British and U.S. military bases, chain breaking of diplomatic relations, economic reconstruction, militant solidarity with the movements of South Viet Nam, Palestine, Laos, Bolivia, the Portuguese Colonies, Venezuela, Colombia, Aden, Guatemala. A return to the tactics of 1955 would be regression.



70 million arabs have more than their riches at stake

Middle East:

OIL STRATEGY

The oil of the Arab countries has the following problem: it is not completely under the control of the Arab countries. Algeria and the UAR are the only states to exercise overall control, in comparison with Saudi Arabia, Iran, Iraq and Kuwait, which have only partial control of their oil. As for consumption or marketing, very little is left for the states of the Middle East and North Africa. For rich as almost all these countries are, their degree of industrial development ranges from scanty to nil, and there are no exceptions to this rule.

Behind this set up—which basically benefits imperialism, the neocolonial countries and the United States in particular—what stands out is the predomination of the major U.S. oil companies, the foremost of which is the **Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey**, interlocked with that other giant, the Anglo-Dutch **Shell Petroleum Company.**

These two are the recognized heads of the world cartel which includes: **Standard Oil, Gulf Oil, Texas Co.** (Texaco), **Socony, Standard of California, Shell** and **British Petroleum.** Interlocked does not mean merger for those wise sacred monsters which, allied in the Achnacarry Agreement (1928) regarding price fixing wherever possible and distribution of cartel markets, meet head-on when it is a question of obtaining advantages, new concessions, etc.

Since 1927, when the giant gusher Baba Gurgur (in Iraq) was set into operation, Arab oil and its known resources have dominated the world scene in this industry. Consequently, we constantly find the companies of this cartel involved in the most infamous intrigues concerning crude oil and its derivative industries as well as in its fellow financial and commercial empires of the "free world."

These seven companies—which stand among the top 19 in a listing of the world's 700 largest firms—had in 1965, sales amounting to US$35,574 million, net profits of US$3,665 million, and a total of 631,044 employees. Obviously, not all these profits came from Arab petroleum, although it is probable that the total would be greater upon analysis of **all** the earnings of **all** the companies —not just the "seven"—that are involved in exploiting these fields: in all, 25 companies.

The offic l U.S. government

publication **Survey Of Current Business,** which annually gives data on direct U.S. investments in all parts of the world, does not skip the Middle East. From these countries, leaving out Iran, in the five-year period 1961-65, U.S. companies remitted US$4,200 million in net profits to the United States, plus US$496 million remitted from Libya in the three-year period 1963-65. This gives a grand total of US$4.696 million remited to the United States out of total declared profits of US$4,850 million, leaving US$154 million for "reinvestments."

These lucrative earnings in the "host countries" stem **only from production** and are therefore just a small part of the profits. Many of the profits earned in other countries have their true origin here, **at the source.**

Profits in transportation, refining, marketing and by-products are wafted out of the hands of their real owners.

It was just because of this "detail" that the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) was formed. The OPEC tried to put up a common front to the cartel's price manipulations and profit-earning schemes for the companies and their homelands. The Tariki Plan —put forth by Sheik Abdullah al-Tariki of Saudi Arabia—was conceived as a means of exerting pressure on the oil companies for a new agreement and for sharing profits not "at the well head" but "at the frontier" and at "gas-station level". The "exporting countries" were to keep in mind all oil-drived profits, down to the final consumer.

The OPEC, originally formed by Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and Venezuela (Baghdad, September 1960) and later joined by Qatar, Indonesia and Libya, "controlled" 90% of world oil exports according to a statement by al-Tariki (end of 1965) and the industry's own admission. This figure is important, it being well known that the large producers of crude oil are limited consumers, whereas the large consumers—with the exception of the United States and the Soviet Union—are insignificant producers of crude oil.

THE OPEC AND VENEZUELA

Juan Pablo Pérez Alfonso of Venezuela was also a recognized architect of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries. In fact, there are historians of the industry who credit Pérez Alfonso with initiating the project and al-Tariki with promoting it among the Arab countries. The two continue to be connected with the OPEC, although they no longer work in their corresponding state ministries. The OPEC common front achieved something, but down pounced the surgical hand of the companies. The oil men carried out a campaign of the kind that makes history. "The organizers of this organization are ungrateful for what the companies have done for their countries," they exclaimed dramatically. A commentator hastened to elucidate that "the petroleum countries only put in the petroleum" and that all the rest—effort, technology, distribution and even markets—was put in by the companies.

Al-Tariki and Pérez Alfonso pointed out that the companies' war against the price of crude oil more than justified the OPEC. When the price of crude oil fell in the years 1959-60, Great Britain received 17% more oil paying only 8% more money. The Near East exported 12% more oil, obtaining a 1.5% increase in income. The first "cut" in the price of petroleum (US$0.18 a

barrel) cost the producing countries US$476 million, whereas it meant increased earnings of US$111 million for the United States and US$246 million for the major Western European countries.

From the exporting countries came a flood of criticism about the treatment of underdeveloped countries by the developed: "the large consuming countries, whose prosperity and high standard of living have been achieved in good measure at the expense of the small countries and their low standard of living, should bear much of the responsibility for the adverse effects of their erroneous economic tactics..."

The companies sat up and took notice: that is, they adopted appropriate long and short term measures to counteract any adverse effects the OPEC might have on them.

STRATEGY AND DOUBLE GAME

The OPEC's first steps were taken at the time of the growing struggle of the Venezuelan people, after the fall of Pérez Jiménez, and the nationalization of U.S. companies in Cuba. The cartel and other smaller companies stepped up their extraction of oil in Venezuela, raising it from 144.9 million M.T. in 1959 to 182.4 million M.T. in 1965: a substantial 25.9% increase. Moreover, total Venezuelan oil production was 668.5 million M.T. in the five-year-period 1955-59 and 827.0 million M.T. in the next five years. In 1966, as maneuvers changed, production dropped to 176.3 million M.T.

According to well-founded Venezuelan complaints, the companies stepped up their rate of extraction in case they should have to abandon all or part of that petroleum. At the same time, the international oil companies increased production in the Middle East and in Africa. Now, in order to counteract the restrictions in the Arab countries, they are rapidly reactivating the hundreds of wells that they had drilled and then deactivated in Venezuela during that period.

This strategy of a double game, of playing one against the other, with which they are trying to undermine the "unity of the OPEC", stave off concerted action and continue the trend to falling prices for crude oil in order to pay less to the host countries, is nothing new. It has a long history: wars and coups d'etat in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Imperialist aggressions, such as that at the Suez Canal where England and France put their war machine into action against the United Arab Republic. Assassinations in high places, cloak and dagger techniques, harassment, concessions, territorial conquest. Moreover, there has been the struggle of the United States against Great Britain, of the United States plus Great Britain against Italy and other developed countries, the struggle of the large oil empires against the smaller ones.

The triumph of the socialist revolution in Russia left the Nobel and Rothschild controlled companies without Baku oil.

There were hard-fought battles over this crude until the discovery of oil in Iraq and other Middle Eastern countries. Intrigue and the ruthless use of Foreign Offices became the order of the day. The English controlled that strategic area politically and militarily: they had armed might and treaties to back them up. Washington inaugurated its "Open Door" policy: dollars bought concessions and supplanted the English... in part. For, in part, there were conditions for alliance.

With the wealth of Arab lands,

they increased their war potential and grew richer and richer. Ten years have elapsed from Suez to the present Israelí aggression. This period attests to the inexorable drive of the cartel companies and those who follow it to: a) increase the rate of plunder and b) pit Arab production against Venezuelan production and viceversa, according to the course of events. Now that the Arab response seems to endanger at least part of their concessions, they are expanding production in Venezuela and speculating about expanding their own production—in the case of the United States. They have their eyes set on exploiting the supposedly fabulous deposits in the bituminuos sands on the eastern coast of Canada, on speeding up extraction and even concessions in eastern Nigeria and on accelerating extraction in the recently recovered Indonesian deposits.

From the companies' point of view, all this is well worth while: in 46 years (1915-60) the seven companies of the cartel had aggregate net declared profits of US$33,564 million. In only five years (1961-65) there were net profits of US$14,225 million. This gives the astronomical figure of US$47,789 millions for the 51-year period (1915-65). In 1966, the "lucky seven" earned over US$4,000 million.

As for the United States, none of the 20 other companies outside the cartel are included in those profits. **Standard Oil Co. of Indiana, Standard of Ohio, Getty Oil Co., Sinclair,** etc. are giants in their own right and have interests in the Middle East. The net profits of 18 of these 20 companies totalled US$1,281 million in 1965 alone.

Seventy million Arabs have more than their riches at stake: their right to life, as against the continued existence of imperialism.

CHART No. 1

ARAB COUNTRIES. POPULATION (a)

(Year 1966)	(Area in square kms)	(in thousands of inhabitants)	
Country	Population	Area	inhab./km²
Algeria	12 102	2 381 741	5.1
Bahrein	193	598	322.7
Iraq (b)	8 180	448 742	18.2
Kuwait (c)	426	16 000	26.6
Libya	1 677	1 759 540	1.0
Morocco	13 451	445 050	30.2
Neutral Zone	—	—	—
Qatar (d)	60	22 104	2.7
Saudi Arabia (e)	6 630	2 253 300	2.9
Abu Dhabi (f)	111	83 600	1.3
United Arab Rep (g)	30 147	1 000 000	3.0
(g)	71 300	8 410 675	8.5

Source: Drawn up by the Tricontinental Magazine on the basis of data from the 1966 United Nations Statistical Yearbook which covers the year 1965) and the May 1967 issue of the United Nations Monthly Bulletin of Statistics.

Notes: (a) Only petroleum-producing Arab countries are included (b) 1965 (c) 1964 (d) 1964 (e) 1965 (f) Trucial Oman, 1964 (g) The territory **inhabited and cultivated,** in 1964 was 35 580 km² with a demographic density of 812 inhab./km².

Bear this in mind when considering total demographic density.

CHART No. 2

ARAB COUNTRIES, CRUDE OIL PRODUCTION (a)

(in thousands of M.T.)

Country	1961	1966	66/61 (M.T.)	World % (1966)
Algeria	15 660	32 220	16 560	1.97%
Bahrein	2 248	3 204	956	—
Iraq	49 340	67 860	18 520	4.16%
Kuwait	82 715	114 396	31 681	7.00%
Libya	692	70 548	69 856	4.33%
Morocco	80	104	24	—
Neutral Zone (b)	9 499	20 604	11 105	1.26%
Qatar	8 382	13 716	5 334	—
Saudi Arabia	69 232	118 752	49 520	7.28%
Abu Dhabi (c)	—	17 508	17 508	1.07%
United Arab Rep.	3 819	6 492	2 673	—
	241 667	465 404	223 731	28.53%
Rest of world	880 633	1 165 596	284 969	71.47%
World total	1 122 300	1 631 000	508 700	100.00%

Source: Drawn up by the Tricontinental Magazine on the basis of statistics given in the United Nations Statistical Yearbook and the May 1967 issue of the United Nations Monthly Bulletin of statistics.

Note: (a) Statistics on natural gas are not included
(b) Shared by Saudi Arabia and Kuwait
(c) Oman

CHART No. 3

PRINCIPAL PETROLEUM-PRODUCING COUNTRIES

Year 1966	Millions of M.T.	
Country	Production	% of total
United States	410 688	25.2%
U.S.S.R.	267 804	16.4%
Venezuela	176 328	10.8%
Saudi Arabia	118 752	7.3%
Kuwait	114 396	7.0%
Iran	101 892	6.3%
Libya	70 548	4.3%
	1 260 408	77.3%
Rest of world	370 592	22.7%
World total	1 631 000	100.0%

Source: 1966 United Nations Statistical Yearbook (for the year 1965) and the May 1967 issue of the United Nations Monthly Bulletin of Statistics.

CHART No. 4

WORLD CRUDE OIL PRODUCTION (a)

(by zone)	(in thousands of M.T.)			
Zone	1961	1966	66/61 (M.T.)	World % (1966)
Arab Countries	241 667	465 404	223 731	28.53%
North America	384 172	459 552	75 380	28.18%
Socialist Countries	181 809	285 318	103 509	17.49%
Latin America	202 823	237 077	34 254	14.54%
Asia (and Oceania)	87 144	137 808	50 664	8.45%
Africa	3 258	22 773	18 521	1.14%
Europe	15 064	17 736	2 672	1.09%
Rest of World	6 363	5 332	1 031	0.58%
	1 122 300	1 631 000	508 700	100.00%

Source: Drawn up by the Tricontinental Magazine on the basis of United Nations data (1965 Statistical Yearbook and May 1967 issue of the Monthly Bulletin of Statistics).
(a) Does not include natural gas.

Notes: 1) **Arab Countries:** those included in Chart No. 1
2) **North America:** United States and Canada.
3) **Socialist Countries.** Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania, the U.S.S.R. and Yugoslavia.

According to data made available by the **Arabian American Oil Co.** (ARAMCO), these are the "vital statistics" of the major companies operating in the Near East as of January 1, 1960:

ARABIAN AMERICAN OIL CO.

In Saudi Arabia. **Concession:** for the original area, 66 years as of July 14, 1933 (expires in 1999); for additional area, 66 years as of July 14, 1939 (expires in 2005). **Area:** 88,060,000 hectares **(equivalent to almost the entire area of Venezuela),** including Saudi Arabia's 50% share in the Neutral Zone between Kuwait and Saudi Arabia.
Ownership: Standard Oil of New Jersey, 30%; Texaco. Inc., 30%; Standard Oil of California, 30%; Socony Mobil Oil, 10%. (Note: the last firm changed its name to Mobil Oil Corp. in 1966).

IRANIAN OIL PARTICIPANTS, LTD.

In Iran. By agreement with the Government of Iran and the National Iranian Oil Co. **Operators:** Iranian Oil Exploration and Producing Co. **Concession:** 25 years as of 1954 (expires in 1979, with an option of 15 years more). **Area:** 25,900,000 hectares (6% larger than the area of the United Kingdom). **Ownership:** British Petroleum Co., Ltd, 40%; Royal Dutch Shell Group, 14%; Cia. Francaise des Pétroles, 6%; Gulf Oil Corp., 7%; Mobil Oil Corp., 7%; Standard Oil Co. of California, 7%; Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey, 7%; Texaco, Inc., 7%; Iricon Agency, Ltd., 5%. (Note: the Iricon group is composed of the following U.S. companies: Richfield Oil, Signal Oil, American Independent, Getty Oil, San Jacinto Petroleum, Standard Oil of Ohio, Atlantic Refining and Tidewater Oil, with percentages that vary between 1.25 for Richfield and 0.417 for Tidewater).

IRAQ PETROLEUM CO. LTD.

In Iraq. **Concession:** 75 years, as of March 14, 1925 (expires in the year 2000). **Area:** Provinces of Baghdad and Mosul, east of the Tigris River, 8,288,000 hectares (the size of Austria).
Ownership: British Petroleum Co, Ltd., 23.75%; Royal Dutch Shell, 23.75%; Cia. Francaise des Pétroles, 23.75%; Near East Development Corp., 23.75% (this company is owned 50% by the Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey and 50% by the Mobil Oil Corp.); Participations and Exploration Corp. (C. S. Gulbenkian interests), 5%.

meridian liberation

PIERRE MULELE

A HAWK IN THE CONGOLECE DRAMA

unpublished report of a man and his guerrilla center

A call to order, practically a program for action: "Cease fruitless quarreling and work for the future of our country . . . The Revolution is for neither the PSA nor the MNCL," or any other party that may claim its monopoly; the revolutionary cause, in particular, and the Congolese cause, in general, are what must unite us."

These words were heard over those of Mobutu, Kasavubu, Adoula, Tshombe, Nendaka: "The rebellion was crushed." In the spectacular beating heart of Africa a man several times reported dead, a legend of freedom and audacity, rose again from what the "central power" considered ashes, raised his voice and his armed struggle from the forest, from the mountains, from the vanguard of the Congolese Revolution. Mulele is still leading the popular war which was begun in the Autumn of 1963. This man, who knows that the Congo belongs not to a single individual, but to all the Congolese people, keeps on writing the history of liberation of a people which, with blood and hope, has given the most evident and true proofs of heroism.

Mobutu may continue to assert that the Mulelists — Bengilam Louis Mayele, Mukwidi, Nina and other — will be swept away, but the President-General knows that his power is noticeably weakened, a few kilometers from Kinshasa, and his troops and paratroopers move with care. A power girded by a belt of free territories and of soldiers who wisely refuse combat.

The story is not new. In 1913, seven years after the annexation of the Congo, 30 acts of armed intervention were carried out — which did not prevent the authorities of the colony from stating that the political situation was favorable.

Its history stretches from Leopold II to Rockefeller, from colony to imperialism, from Belgian adviser to U. S. officers who appraise orders for anti-guerrilla warfare. Mobutu closed the frontiers, but the world press analysis of the Congolese situation shows a widening of Mulele's field of action. This was first established in the zone of Kwilu, about 300 miles east of the capital of the country, almost immediately after the murder of Patrice Lumumba. Operations were then extended to Kikwit, Idiofa and Gungu, in the western region.

According to reports, the guerrilla troops advanced along the Kasai River and penetrated Kwango Province and the districts bordering Port Francqui. Some political committees and production cooperatives for local consumption were created south of Kwilu and in the region held by the patriots.

A convincing reference is the one that shows that these regions where Mulel now moves were not taken until 1923 — and then only after large scale military operations . .

APPEL A L'ORDRE.-

Camarades,

Je vous rappelle les termes de ma lettre du 3 Août &
et rappelle une fois toutes à l'ordre et a l'unité.

Cessez ces querelles partisanes et travaillez pour l'avenir de notre pays.

C'est en créant un Parti unique révolutionnaire regroupant en son sein tous nos anciens partis progressistes que vous pourriez retrouver l'unité entre vous .

La Révolution n'est ni pour le P.S.A. ni pour le M.N.C.L. ni pour tout autre Parti qui peut en disputer le monopole c'est la cause Révolutionnaire en particulier et congolaise en général qui doit nous unir.

Une fois cette unité regouvrée autour d'un Parti avancé, nous nous chargerons d'en faire la propagande.

Faute d'unité entre vous, je retirerai ma collaboration jusqu'à ce que vous sachiez que le Congo n'appartient pas à un individu mais à tous les Congolais.

Je crois que vous m'avez bien compris et je joints au présent appel la copie de la liste de l'état de besoin dont question dans ma précitée lettre.

Le Camarade,
-/- P.M. -/-

AUGUST 5, 1966

Comrades,

I wish to refer to my letter of August 3, 1966 and once more call you to order and unity.

Cease the sterile quarrels and work for the future of our country.

Only by forging a single revolutionary Party which re-groups within it all other progressive parties will you be able to find unity.
The Revolution is not only for PSA nor for NMCL nor for any other party that tries to monopolize it.
It is revolutionary cause in particular, and the Congolese cause in general that should unite us.
Once this unity chrystallizes around a vanguard party we will take on the task of publicizing it.
If this unity is absent among you, I will retire my collaboration until you learn that the Congo does not belong to any single individual but to all Congolese people.
I believe that you will have understood me; and I attach to this appeal a copy of the list of needs presented in my letter.

Comrade
Pierre Mulele

Relatively little is known about Mulele. All records about him have been lost, leaving no trace, like the actions he carries out with his comrades in arms. It is not the matter of a "name" of a personality forged by a command. Mulele is preceded and accompanied by legend in the intermissions of the drama of a people eager to drive back oppression once and for all. But legend adopts concrete forms: rifles, submachine guns even the silent power of the bow and arrow; and a short biography may be attempted.

Mulele was born on July 25, 1929, a member of the Bambunda tribe, which lived in the territory of Idiofa, now Kwilu Province. After the inevitable Jesuit education, he was graduated from the Moyenne School in Laverville and, afterwards, from the Ce. Lever Freres School of Agronomy, at Basoko, Haut-Fleuve. Pierre Mulele was forcibly enrolled, as a disciplinary measure, in the Public Force (Colonial Army), today the ANC. After completing two years of military service, he returned to civilian life. He was then employed by the Colonial Administration, until the independence of the country was won. In 1959, with the creation of the Party of African Solidarity (PSA), he was elected its General Secretary, a post whose duties he still carries out. His real political activity and commitment for unity in the revolutionary movement date from this time. The task he had cut out for himself was not an easy one.

In May 1960 he took part in the Belgian-Congolese Conference at Brussels (the Economic Round Table), and in the legislative elections of the same year yas elected national representative of his party. In the first Congolese Government, a coalition of four progressive parties headed by Lumumba, Gizenga, Kashamura and Sendwo, he was appointed Minister of National Education and Fine Arts. The coup against Lumumba's Government forced Mulele to go Stanleyville, together with Anthony Gizenga. The Stanleyville Government, guided by Gizenga, sent him as ambassador to Cairo. He traveled to the U.S.S.R., Guinea and China in 1961, and in 1963 reappeared in the Congo as the head of a guerrilla movement near his native district of Kwilu. Betrayed by some of the members of his party, Mulele was forced into a defensive position at the outset, later improving his forces and increasing their numbers, at times achieving a technical efficiency and numerical strength sufficient to repulse all enemy attacks.

Mulele: something more than a name. In the language of the Bambunda tribe, Pierre Mulele is pronounced Olele, which means to glid like the hawk.

"The creation of a single Party will allow us to continue the struggle under one leadership".

"Our struggle is not based on any of existent parties"

"To my opinion nothing is lost. The moment is appropriate to continue our revolution"

"Be aware that the struggle keeps on and that y follow the line marked by P. E. Lumumba".

notes for history

vietnam: this is my reply

To:

The Honorable

Lyndon B. Johnson

President

United States of America

Sir:

I received your message on February 10, 1967. The following is my reply.

Viet Nam is thousands of miles away from the United States. The people of Viet Nam have never done any harm to the United States. However, in violation of the promises made by your representative in the Geneva Conference of 1954, the Government of the United States has incessantly intervened in Viet Nam. It has unleashed and intensified the war of aggression in South Viet Nam, with the aim of prolonging the division of Viet Nam and converting South Viet Nam into a neocolony and military base of the United States. For two years, the Government of the United States, with its air and naval forces, has been spreading the war to the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, and independent and sovereign country.

The Government of the United States has committed war crimes, crimes against peace and against humanity. In South Viet Nam, half a million U.S. and satellite

troops have resorted to the most inhuman acts and the most barbarous methods of warfare, such as napalm, toxic chemicals and gases, to slaughter our compatriots, destroy crops and raze villages. In North Viet Nam, thousands of U.S. airplanes have dropped hundreds of thousands of tons of bombs, destroying cities, villages, factories, roads, bridges, dams, dikes and even churches, pagodas, hospitals and schools. In your message, you apparently deplore the suffering and destruction in Viet Nam. I ask you: "Who has perpetrated these monstrous crimes?" They have been U.S. and satellite troops. The Government of the United States is fully responsible for the extremely serious situation in Viet Nam.

The U.S. war of aggression against the Vietnamese people constitutes a challenge to the countries of the socialist world, a threat to the national independence movements, and a grave danger to the peace in Asia and in the world. The people of Viet Nam deeply love independence, freedom and peace, but, faced with U.S. aggression, they have arisen, as one man, without fear of sacrifices or suffering, determined to resist until they win true independence and freedom and genuine peace. Our just cause enjoys the solidarity and support of all the peoples of the world, including wide sectors of the people in the United States.

The U.S. Government has unleashed a war of aggression in Viet Nam. It must stop this aggression.

This is the only way to restore peace. The U.S. Government must suspend, definitively and unconditionally, its bombings and all other acts of war against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, withdraw its troops and those of its satellites from South Viet Nam, recognize the National Liberation Front of South Viet Nam and permit the Vietnamese people to solve their own problems. This is the basic content of the four point program upheld by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, which embodies the essential principles and stipulations of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam. This is the basis for the correct peaceful solution to the problem of Viet Nam.

In your message, you suggest direct conversations between the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the United States. If the Government of the United States really wishes these conversations, it should first suspend, unconditionally, its bombings and all other acts of war against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. It is only after the unconditional cessation of bombings and other acts of war against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam that our Government and the United States can engage in conversations and discuss matters concerning both parties.

The people of Viet Nam will never submit to force. They will never accept negotiations under the threat of bombs.

Our cause is completely just. We hope that the Government of the United States will act according to reason.

Sincerely,

Ho Chi Minh.

Hanoi, March 21, 1967.

RESOLUTION OF ARUSHA

Declaration of Arusha

THE ARUSHA RESOLUTION

The National Executive Committee, meeting in the Community Centre at Arusha from 26.1.67 to 29.1.67 resolves:

A. THE LEADERSHIP

1.—Every TANU and Government leader must be either a Peasant or a Worker, and should in no way be associated with the practices of Capitalism or Feudalism.

2.—No TANU or Government leader should hold shares in any Company.

3.—No TANU or Government leader should hold Dictatorships in any privately-owned enterprises.

4.—No TANU or Government leader should receive two or more salaries.

5.—No TANU or Government

leader should own houses which he rents to others.

6.—For the purposes of this Resolution the term "leader" should comprise the following: Members of the TANU National Executive Committee; Ministers, Members of Parliament, Senior Officials of Organizations affiliated to TANU, Senior Officials of Para-Statal Organizations, all those appointed or elected under any clause of the TANU Constitution, Councillors, and Civil Servants in high and middle cadres. (In this context "leader" means a man, or a man and his wife; a woman, or a woman and her husband).

B. THE GOVERNMENT AND OTHER INSTITUTIONS

1.—Congratulates the Government for the steps it has taken so far in the implementation of the policy of Socialism.

2.—Calls upon the Government to take further steps in the implementation of our policy of Socialism as described in Part Two of this document without waiting for a Presidential Commission on Socialism.

3.—Calls upon the Government to put emphasis, when preparing its development plans, on the ability of this country to implement the plans rather than depending on foreign loans and grants as has been done in the current Five-Year Development Plan. The National Executive Committee also resolves that the Plan should be amended so as to make it fit in with the policy of self-reliance.

4.—Calls upon the Government to take action designed to ensure that the incomes of workers in the private sector are not very different from the incomes of workers in the public sector.

5.—Calls upon the Government to put great emphasis on actions which will raise the standard of living of the peasants, and the rural communities.

6.—Calls upon NUTA, the Co-operatives, TAPA, UWT, TYL, and other Government institutions to take steps to implement the policy of Socialism and Self-reliance.

In view of the importance invested in the declaration of Arusha for the African Continent in general and for the people of Tanzania in particular, TRICONTINENTAL magazine offers its readers a summary of that document in order to spread the anti-imperialist ideas of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

DECLARATION OF ARUSHA AND POLICY OF TANU (TANGANYIKA AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION) AND SOCIALISM AND SELF-RELIANCE

PART I:

THE TANU "Creed"

The policy of TANU it to build a socialist state, the principles of socialism are laid down in the TANU Constitution, and they are as follows:
Whereas TANU believes:

(a) That all human beings are equal;

(b) That every individual has a right to dignity and respect;

(c) That every citizen is an integral part of the Nation and has the right to take an equal part in Government at local, regional and national level:

(d) That every citizen has the right to freedom of expression, of movement, of religious belief and of association within the context of the law;

(e) That every individual has the right to receive from society protection of his life and property held according to law;

(f) That every individual has the right to receive a just return for his labour;

(g) That all citizens together posses all the natural resources of the country in trust for their descendants;

(h) That in order to ensure economic justice the State must have effective control over the principal means of production; and

(i) That it is the responsibility of the States to intervene actively in the economic life of the Nation so as to ensure the well-being of all citizens and so as to prevent the exploitation of one person by another or one group by another, and so as to prevent the accumulation of wealth to an extent which is inconsistent with the existence of a classless society.

Now, THEREFORE, the principal aims and objects of TANU shall be as follows:

(a) To consolidate and maintain the independence of this country and the freedom of its people;

(b) To safeguard the inherent dignity of the individual in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;

(c) To ensure that this country shall be governed by a democratic socialist government of the people;

(d) To co-operate with all political parties in Africa engaged in the liberation of all Africa;

(e) To see that the Government mobilizes all the resources of this country towards the elimination of poverty, ignorance and disease;

(f) To see that the Government actively assists in the formation and maintenance of co-operative organizations;

(g) To see that wherever possible the Government itself directly

participates in the economic development of this country;

(h) To see that the Government gives equal opportunity to all men and women irrespective of race, religion or status;

(i) To see that the Government eradicates all types of exploitation, intimidation, discrimination, bribery and corruption;

(j) To see that the Government exercises effective control over the principal means of production and pursues policies which facilitate the way to collective ownership of the resources of this country;

(k) To see that the Government co-operates with other States in Africa in bringing about African Unity;

(l) To see that the Government works tirelessly towards world peace and security through

PART II

THE POLICY OF SOCIALISM

the United Nations Organization.

(a) ABSENCE OF EXPLOITATION:

A true Socialist State is one in which all people are workers and in which neither Capitalism nor Feudalism exist. It does not have two classes of people: a lower class consisting of people who work for their living, and an upper class consisting of those who live on other people's labour. In a Socialist State no person exploits another, but everybody who is able to work does so and gets a fair income for his labour, and incomes do not differ substantially.

In a true Socialist State it is only the following categories of people who can live on other people's labour: children, the aged, cripples and those for whom the States at any one time cannot provide employment.

Tanzania is a state of Peasants and Workers, but it is not yet a Socialist State. It still has elements of Capitalism and Feudalism and their temptations. These elements could expand and entrench themselves.

(b) MAJOR MEANS OF PRODUCTION TO BE UNDER THE CONTROL OF PEASANTS AND WORKERS:

The way to build and maintain socialism is to ensure that the major means of production are under the control and ownership of the Peasants and the Workers themselves through their Government and their Co-operatives. It is also necessary to ensure that the ruling party is a Party of Peasants and Workers.

These major means of production are: the land; forests; mineral resources; water; oil and electricity;

communications; transport; banks; insurance; import and export trade; wholesale business; the steel, machine-tool, arms, motor-car, cement, and fertilizer factories; the textile industry; and any other big industry upon which a large section of the population depend for their living, or which provides essential components for other industries; large plantations, especially those which produce essential raw materials.

Some of these instruments of production are already under the control and ownership of the people's Government.

(c) DEMOCRACY:

A state it not socialist simply because all, or all the major, means of production are controlled and owned by the Government. It is necessary for the Government to be elected and led by Peasants and Workers. If the racist Government of Rhodesia and South Africa were to bring the major means of production in these countries under their control and direction, this would entrench Exploitation. It would not bring about Socialism.

There cannot be true Socialism without Democracy.

(d) SOCIALISM IS AN IDEOLOGY:

Socialism is an Ideology. It can only be implemented by people who firmly believe in its principles and are prepared to put them into practice. A true member of TANU is a socialist, and his compatriots, that is his fellow believers in this political and economic faith, are all those in Africa or elsewhere in the world who fight for the rights of the peasants and workers. The first duty of a TANU member, and especially of a TANU leader, is to live by these principles in his day-to-day life. In particular a TANU Leader should never live on another's labour, nei-

ther should he have capitalist of feudalist tendencies.

The realization of these socialist objectives depends a great deal on the leadership, for as stated above, Socialism is an ideology, and it is difficult for leaders to implement it if they do not believe in it.

WE HAVE PUT TOO MUCH EMPHASIS ON INDUSTRIES

Because of our emphasis on money, we have made another big mistake.

We have put too much emphasis in industries. Just as we have said "Without Money there can be no development", we also seem to say "Industries are the basis of development, without industries there is no development". This is true. The day when we have lots of money we shall be able to say we are a developed country. We shall be able to say: "When we began our development plans we did not have enough money and this situation made it difficult for us to develop as fast as we wanted.

Today we are developed and we have enough money". That is to say, our money has been brought by development. Similarly, the day we become industrialized, we shall be able to say we are developed.

Development would have enabled us to have industries. The mistake we are making is to think that development begins with industries. It is a mistake because we do not have the means to establish many modern industries in our country. We do not have either the necessary finances or the technical know-how. It is not enough to say that we shall borrow the finances and the technicians from other countries to come and start the industries. The answer to this is the same one we gave earlier, that we cannot get enough money and borrow enough technicians to start all the industries we need.

And even if we could get the necessary assistance, dependence on it could interfere with our policy on Socialism. The policy of inviting a chain of capitalists to come and establish industries in our country might succeed in giving

us all the industries we need, but it would also succeed in preventing the establishment of socialism unless we believe that without first building capitalism, we cannot build Socialism.

THE PEOPLE AND AGRICULTURE

The development of a country is brought about by people, not by money. Money, and the wealth it represents, is the result and not the basis of development. The four pre-requisites of development are different: they are (1) People; (II) Land; (III) Good Policies; (IV) Good Leadership. Our country has more than ten million people and its area is more than 362,000 square miles.

AGRICULTURE IS THE BASIS OF DEVELOPMENT

A great part of Tanzania's land is fertile and gets sufficient rains. Our country can produce various crops for home consumption and for export.

We can produce food crops (which can be exported if we produce in large quantities) such as maize, rice, wheat, beans, groundnuts, etc.

And we can produce such cash crops as sisal, cotton, coffee, tobacco, pyrethrum, tea, etc. Our land is also good for grazing cattle, goats, sheep, and for raising chickens, etc.; we can get plenty of fish from our rivers, lakes, and from the sea. All of our farmers are in areas which can produce two or three or even more of the food and cash crops enumerated above, and each farmer could increase his production so as to get more food or more money. And because the main aim of development is to get more food, and more money for our other needs, our purpose must be to increase production of these agricultural crops. This is in fact the only road through which we can develop our country-in other words — only by increasing our production of these things can we get more food and more money for every Tanzanian.

tions of Asia, Africa and Latin America, is a historic event; historic because of its composition, because the two great contemporary trends of world revolution shall be represented at this Conference. The trend that started with the October Revolution in the Soviet Union—which is the trend of the socialist revolution—and the parallel trend, the current of National Liberation. These two currents shall meet at this Conference on a tricontinental level.

This Conference is also historic because it will be held in Cuba, because the Cuban Revolution is the accomplishment of the fusion of these two trends; because Cuba went through its revolution for national liberation and is now getting ready to carry out its social revolution. Therefore, this is the ideal country for holding this meeting.

This Conference is historic because it is going to be held in Latin America. The struggle against neocolonialism, —colonialism without a banner—has been going on in Latin America for fifty years. As for us, the peoples of Asia and Africa, the struggle against colonialism has been carried on for a long time, but neocolonalism has made its appearance right after the formal political independence of our countries; hence the need for an exchange of opinions among the three continents. This exchange of views is necessary because imperialism has now adopted a global strategy.

The movements of struggle against imperialism must also adopt a global strategy; this strategy should be adopted on a tricontinental level.

After this Conference we should arrive at a better coordination of the movements of struggle in our three continents.

We consider that the struggle against imperialism is only one: In Viet Nam, in Congo, —in the Dominican Republic, the aggression takes different forms, but it is always U.S. imperialism that unleashes the aggression; and our solidarity must express itself in a clear, precise and organized way, for solidarity should not be expressed spontaneously.

Let us take Viet Nam as an example. It may be that solidarity is sometimes adopted without coordination.

We can help Viet Nam in various ways: by opening up fronts of struggle wherever possible, and by struggling against imperialism, each one of our countries would be helping Viet Nam. On the other hand, Viet Nam can be helped in a negative way, that is, by taking initiatives without being certain that these initiatives follow the direction Viet Nam requires. This is what I understand as spontaneous solidarity, and this is not sound solidarity. Hence the need for coordination. This coordination is not only necessary in the political struggle, but in the economic struggle as well. That is why our Agenda includes both economic and political aspects of our struggle against imperialism.

There lies the framework and the aims of our Tricontinental Conference.

We are already engaged in effective, preparatory work.

And that is the reason for my visit here: to establish contact with the Cuban comrades and with the Latin American comrades, the members of the Preparatory Committees. We meet here in a special occasion: within a few minutes we will sign the letters of invitation to the Conference. The anti-imperialist organizations of Asia, Africa and Latin America, as I have already said, will be invited to this Conference. We have divided the work: the Afro-Asian Organization is preparing and studying the list of the organizations of Asia and Africa. The Latin American comrades, members of the International Preparatory Committee, are making up the list of the organizations of the Latin American continent. This is a political operation that will have great repercussion in the anti-imperialist struggle of Latin America, because we have established certain principles for the preparation of these lists.

The first principle is: there shall be one delegation for each country. Wherever a party is the fundamental force of the country, as, for example, in Cuba or in Venezuela; and wherever there is an organized front, that front will be invited, as for instance, the fronts of Chile and Guatemala. Naturally, we face a delicate situation in the case of countries where there are several anti-imperialist organizations. In these cases the Preparatory Committees will call on these organizations to constitute a National Committee for the Conference of the three continents. As for us, we have a delegation coming from Colombia, from Argentina, which will represent all the anti-imperialist and militant organizations of those two countries.

There are three points of view which were agreed upon at Cairo, according to a proposal made by the Latin American comrades, to wit, first, the organizations must be representative, that is, they must have a popular foundation; second, they must be anti-imperialist; and third, they must agree to work for unity against imperialism at the Conference. We shall not interfere in the internal affairs of the countries whether they constitute a front or not; that is their own affair. The only thing we request is that they constitute one delegation, one national committee that has a political meaning, inasmuch as it may lead to a greater unification of the anti-imperialist forces in these countries. That is to say, that the preparation of this Conference unleashes, or initiates a positive process in the struggle against the imperialists.

We know that sometimes there are divergencies within the anti-imperialist organizations, but whatever the nature or origin of these divergencies, they are of secondary importance in the face of imperialism's aggressions and intentions. We are before an enemy that wants to be the gendarme of the world. This is the time to overcome and set aside those

secondary divergencies and to establish a united front against the imperialists. That is the spirit that will prevail at the Havana Conference. The spirit already prevails in the Preparatory Committee.

We are 19 members in the Preparatory Committee. There are many differences among these members. It suffices to mention the list of the members of the Preparatory Committee. From Africa we have the UAR, Algeria, Guinea, Tanzania, South Africa and Morocco. When I say country, I include the name of the anti-imperialist organization of each country. For example, in the case of Guinea, it is the Democratic Party of Guinea; from Morocco, we have the National Union of Popular Forces, etc., etc. From Asia we have six organizations representing Japan, Indonesia, Viet Nam, China, India, and the Soviet Union. That is, by reading the appeal, you will see that there has not been a single point which was not unanimously approved. Therefore, we have ignored the secondary divergencies, and that is the reason for this press conference. I would like to make an appeal on behalf of the Preparatory Committee to all the anti-imperialist organizations of all Latin America to take part in the National Committee of each one of their countries, which will represent each country in the Conference.

Private invitations will not be sent out to the organizations; the National Committee will be invited. During the coming week we will be already working to create the National Committee. Therefore, we feel sure that we have acted in the spirit that moved us at Cairo during the preparatory meeting and, according to the consultative meetings and discussions that we have held in Cuba, I feel certain that we shall attain success and that this Conference will respond to a need; that it will be an opportunity for the peop es of Asia, Africa and Latin America to pay homage to the heroic people of Cuba, to their enlightened and courageous leadership, headed by comrade Fidel.

"I thank you and I am willing to answer all your questions."

Ben Barka stated:

"I have already explained that there are two cases in which it is not neccessary to constitute national committees when there is a totally representative party or organization or when there is a front composed of diverse organizations and this front is completely representative —i.e. Cuba, Venezuela, Guyana, Chile, Guatemala and Uruguay. That is, we create national committees in those places where organizations do not constitute a front and are not united, for we aim at the representative unity of every country, we want a single delegation from each country.

"This refers not only to Latin America but to Asia and Africa. The examples I offered came from Latin America, but there are other from Africa and Asia."

Referring to the Agenda of the Conference, the President of the Preparatory Committee pointed out:

"I believe that the copies of the Agenda will be distributed

to the press. This has already been done once, for copies of the call and of the Agenda were distributed to the press at the time that invitations, the call and the appeal were sent to the countries invited to participate, following the Cairo meeting since the points included on the Agenda have a relative and a technical aspect. The press published the appeal but did not publish the Agenda at that time."

The four fundamental topics of the Agenda follow:

First: the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. This topic has seven points.

Second: burning issues of the anti-imperialist struggle on the three continents, i.e. Viet Nam, the Dominican Republic, the Congo, the Portuguese colonies, Southern Rhodesia, Palestine and Saudi Arabia.

Third: anti-imperialist solidarity among the Afro-Asian and Latin American peoples in the economic, cultural and social fields. This topic has three points: a reading of these is recommended.

A) The economic emancipation and social and cultural liberation of the peoples of the three continents. This has seven parts.

B) The development of cultural, social and economic relations.

C) The coordination of the activities of workers', students', women's and cultural organizations on the three continents.

Fourth: organization, the organic and political unification of the efforts of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America in their common struggle for liberation and national construction.

Answering a question on the participation of observers and anti-imperialist organizations, Ben Barka declared:

"The question of observers was included on the Agenda of the Preparatory Committee; right now the basic question, —that is, the most urgent one— is that of members. As I said before, investigations have to be made, before the national committees can be established. But the sending of invitations to the observers, the anti-imperialist, national and international organizations, has been approved.

I believe that the invitations to the observers will be sent by the end of October or by the second week of November, when we will have solved the question of members. We feel we should invite observers from countries not on these three continents. Our purpose in doing this will be to express solidarity. Perhaps we will meet with some difficulty, because our decisions should be unanimous. When we have unanimously agreed on the question of members, we will then have to reach unanimity on the question of observers."

With regard to the participation of youth representations at the Tricontinental Conference, El Mehdi Ben Barka stated:

"I am well qualified to answer this question, for the young people in our Organization, the National Union of Popular Forces of Morocco, are playing a vanguard role—as are those in the National Union of Moroccan Students. We have militants in these organizations, which provide good train-

ing for the cadres of our Party; consequently, our youth, our students, will be represented in the Party's delegation.

"Perhaps the student organizations of other countries will also participate in forming their national committees, because sometimes they are the only militant organizations in those countries. I will mention several examples of this: the French colonies, Haiti and Guadaloupe. In other countries where militant students' organizations exist, they will be represented either by their parties or through the national committees that will be constituted.

"We do not want to replace in any way the Student Youth Festival that will be held next year. The young people have their own common problems to discuss, but the voice of youth shall be heard in our Conference as well.

"I forgot to tell you that the list of organizations that will be invited already includes the World Democratic Youth Federation and the International Union of Students.

"I do not know whether the youth conference which was held in Chile created a permanent organization or not; if such an organization was created, it will certainly be invited to the Conference as an observer."

Regarding the length of the Conference and its number of participants, the Moroccan leader pointed out:

"The Conference will last at least one week. It has been decided that it will be held on January 3-10. The delegations, then, as they will already be in Havana, will be invited by the United Party of the Socialist Revolution of Cuba to participate in the festivities of the 2 of January, a date on which the VII Anniversary of the triumph of the Revolution will be celebrated.

"Regarding the number of countries that will be represented, one could count 100 countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and each country then could have a delegation; these delegations will have at least five members, because the Conference will have five commissions and each delegation must be represented in each of the Commissions.

"Regarding the number of observers, there may be 50 or 100—I cannot tell exactly because the Preparatory Committee has not yet drawn up the list. There is a provisional list, but it has to be studied and completed."

A journalist asked about the Revolution adopted by the U.S. House of Representatives. Ben Barka replied:

"It is not only a violation of the principles of Bandung, but an act of aggression against the sovereignty of all the peoples of the world. This is the clearest aggressive manifestation of the imperialist goal of world domination.

"The Havana Conference is our answer to this challenge. The peoples must rise against imperialist domination—not only in Latin America, where the peoples' anger has already been manifested, but throughout the world. I am sure that even the people of the United States are opposed to such domination. And this Resolution of the U.S. House of Representatives is one more reason for the holding of this Conference."

THE REVOLUTIONARY ARCHITECTURE OF THE THIRD WORLD

by Arch. Fernando Salinas

A spectre is stalking the paths of modern architecture, transforming it from the very roots: the spectre of the needs of the Third World, of the underdeveloped tricontinental world.

According to United Nations' statistics, by the year 2 000 the world population will exceed 7 000 million inhabitants, or, in other words, the present population will be doubled. The total population has increased by 480 million inhabitants in the last ten years; in three years, from 1960 to 1963, it increased by 170 million, and during the next ten years our planet's population is expected to increase by 600 million inhabitants.

In 1950, 80 per cent of the world population still lived in rural areas. But the big cities have an annual growth rate of four per cent. Twenty years ago only 30 cities of a million or more inhabitants existed, ten years ago there were 60, and today that number has increased to 80. In 20 years, the city of Caracas has increased its population five-fold. Cairo, the largest African city, with two million inhabitants in 1947, has today a population of some 3,518,000 inhabitants. The population of Bogotá increased from 648,000 in 1951 to 1,680,000 in 1964.

The Third World: realm of want

Out of the total world population, 75 per cent or approximately

2 341 million inhabitants, live in so-called underdeveloped areas, with an average growth rate of 2.2 per cent.

According to statistics, between the years 1960 and 1962, the underdeveloped world—which comprises two-thirds of humanity—had an average per capita annual income of $136.00. North America and Europe had per capita incomes of $2 845.00 and $1 033.00 respectively. During that period per capita incomes in the developed countries increased by $100.00 and those of the underdeveloped countries by $5.00.
All the electric energy produced in India would not be sufficient to illuminate the city of New York.

Half of the world population is under 25 years of age, and 900 million of this age group live in the countries of the Third World. In Africa, they number 103 million; in Latin America, 89 million; in Asia, 700 million, and in North America and Europe, 135 and 65 million respectively.
By 1970 the population of the underdeveloped countries will increase by some 300 million. In Latin America half of this population increase will live in the rural areas and three-quarters of it in Asia.

In Latin America, 62 cities of more than 100,000 inhabitants house 40 per cent of the total population. In Asia, between 1950 and 1975 the cities of more than 20 000 inhabitants will increase their collective populations by 500 million. In India, 1 000 million dollars are needed to house new inhabitants of cities with populations of more than 100 000. To supply them with water, gas electricity and transportation, this figure would have to be duplicated. In Latin America, it is calculated that 1 400 million dollars annually, over a period of 30 years, would be necessary to remedy the housing deficit. There are 150 million families in the underdeveloped countries that are in need of adequate housing, according to statistics recently made by the Social Affairs Board of the United Nations.

The construction of ten dwellings per 1 000 inhabitants in every country is a building goal recommended by the UN. In many countries only two dwellings per 1 000 inhabitants have been built. These are some of the very bitter realities of the so-called Third World; it is these realities which bear the seeds of their revolutionary transformations.

Building and underdevelopment

On the Latin American continent alone, the predictable building needs are enormous.
In 1951, some 158,200,000 inhabitants were housed in approximately 31,333,000 dwellings, of which 80 per cent are in need of demolition or repair, due to their dilapidated condition. To absorb the building deficit, the demographic growth and the replacement of uninhabitable dwellings, it will be necessary—according to an interesting report made by Architect María Luisa Lezcano for the 7th Congress of the International Union of Architects—to build 2,993,000 dwellings annually, over a 30-year period, to house an estimated continental population of 456,305,000 inhabitants, which may be grouped into 90,355,000 family units composed of approximately 5.05 members.
If this estimate is compared with the approximately 310,000 dwellings actually built annually on the continent between 1957 and 1961, we can conclude that it is necessary to double housing pro-

duction for more than 30 years, in order to solve the problem on the Latin American continent.

If we apply these figures in an overall way, to the 3 500 million people who will inhabit the Third World by 1990, we arrive at the conclusion that it will be necessary to build approximately 800 million dwellings by that date, or some 27 million dwellings annually over a period of 30 years, in order to solve the tricontinental problem of housing alone.

It will be necessary to increase housing production ten-fold—and at the same time building in general—in order to solve the fundamental problems in thirty years, thus exceeding the figure of ten dwellings per 1 000 inhabitants proposed by the United Nations. The satisfaction of these concrete human needs will be the starting point of the revolution in architecture and building in the Third World.

It can be calculated that a construction worker produces an average of one house per year, under optimum conditions of supply and organization, using traditicnal craft methods of building.

Productivity can be increased to 2.5 or 3 dwellings per year per man, by employing more advanced building techniques and prefabrication methods.

But the use of certain advanced techniques is limited by the high volume of on-going production required. Therefore, taking into account that a very high percentage of the cities of the Third World have less than 15,000 inhabitants, and more than 60 per cent of the dwellings will be built in isolated rural zones, it is necessary to reach an average productivity of 1.7 dwellings per worker, utilizing prefabrication methods in 20 per cent of construction, and mechanizing and modernizing traditional methods to the maximum during the first stage. From this we can conclude that, even with a profound revolution in techniques, the available manpower and the present characteristics of the problem, make it possible to resolve only 70-75 per cent of our world's needs in this way, and over a long period of time.

How can the underdeveloped world find a solution—which is required very urgently—to its apparently insoluble problems? Only with a revolution—in its economy, its society, its techniques and architecture, and within the field of architecture, with a revolution in its animating concepts, methods and achievements.

Characteristics of architecture in the Third World, and bases for its transformation

Architecture in the underdeveloped countries, that have not initiated profound economic and social transformations, can be characterized by the following points:

1) The contrast between the luxury of the buildings of a minority and the poverty of those of the great majority of the working people, especially with regard to housing, living area per person and corresponding services.

2) The progressive growth of the housing shortage, with the subsequent sharpening of the problem.

3) The differences in the standard of living and housing between the rural areas and the cities.

4) Land speculation and building for profit, which obliges the majority of the people to solve their problem spontaneously, with scattered dwellings in the country-

side and with shacks and slums in the suburbs.

5) The minimum contribution of the State to the solution of the housing problem.

6) The parallel existence of an advanced technology to solve isolated building problems and a primitive, craftsman technology, applied spontaneously in many cases, for the rest of the buildings.

7) Concentration of building investments in the big cities as a result of real estate speculation and building for profit, and the dispersion and abandon of building in the countryside.
8) The general use of imported materials as a result of industrial underdevelopment.

9) Anarchy in the building sector, from the multiplicity of measurements and types of building materials to the diversity of architectural solutions of similar problems, with the subsequent waste of human and material resources.
10) Dedication of the efforts and talents of architects and technicians to the solution of isolated problems of the propertied class, and the neglect of the building needs of the humble masses of the population.

11) The existence of a small number of architects and technicians, in relation to the character and limitations of the volume of projects and building programs.
12) The subordination of aesthetic solutions to the limitations of an unequal technology, exclusive programs and the defamation of native culture by the influence of the ruling power's ideology, which limits the search for true expression in architecture.

The architecture of an underdeveloped country cannot be transformed without a radical change in the economic, political and social structure that has produced this state of underdevelopment, and which is the base, foundation and root of its characteristics.
A change which will allow rational use of all available resources and forces, is only possible when the people takes in its own hands the fundamental agricultural and industrial means of production, the Bank and exterior and interior distribution. Guided by its own institutions and with the conscious, active participation of an organized people, it will be possible to carry out the tasks of preparation and fulfillment on all levels.

The plan of a country's development is the result of a historic process generated by its people, who, on becoming aware of the roots of underdevelopment, overcome the obstacles that prevent evolution, establish the base of a plan and create the conditions and institutions that assure its fulfillment. Therefore, the plan of development is the technico-economic programming for achieving these objectives, based on the conditions created in each country.

Planning is defined as scientific prediction and the determining of the proportional development of the national economy. This planned development not only takes place in time, but also in space, giving rise to the systematic activity of territorial planning.
The Physical Planning of development must be based on economic planning, and, therefore, has to begin with plans or directives on a national scale, and, based on these, establish the regional and local plans.

Physical planning begins in the very physical structure of underdevelopment, transforming it as a result of the new economic, political and social conditions of production.

The successive physical plans will have to eliminate the uneven physical structure, creating new areas of industrial development that revitalize the existing cities or create other areas, and evening up the fundamental disproportion of the enormous concentration in the capital cities.
The problem of housing as a result of underdevelopment is of such magnitude that it cannot be resolved without producing a radical change in the structure of these countries that permits their development and with it, the satisfying of the housing needs and social services for the entire population.

Accelerated economic and technical development will bring numerous resources for the solution of these needs.
Housing is a social service that has to be free of all mercantilism, and in whose service the State has analogous obligations to the social services of health and education.

The solution of housing needs must be based fundamentally on the serious and planned investment in building by the State, in the rational use of human and material resources and the normalization and industrialization of construction as obligatory conditions for resolving in time the housing demand, using for this purpose, in the first stages, all constructive possibilities that arise, based on the existing conditions in each place.

Building will follow in the steps of the country's general development and therefore, priority must be given to productive agricultural and industrial projects, at the same time that the population's most urgent education and health needs are satisfied. On changing the country's structure, placing it on the road to economic and technical development, it is possible to face the solution of the housing problem through:
a) An Integral Agrarian Reform, that totally transforms the unequal income distribution and, while increasing agricultural production, allows the employment of greater resources in rural house building and complementary services.
b) An Urban Reform, that while changing the unjust distribution of the tenancy of urban housing, hands over the property or the use of it to tenants; and totally eliminates housing speculation.
c) Legislation on urban plots of land that eliminate real estate speculation and permit the best utilization of the same for the benefit of society.

Determinants of revolutionary architecture

Among the conditions that characterize it, we can outline some of the determining principles that conceptually define the revolutionary architecture of the Third World:

1) The necessity of producing an extraordinary volume of buildings in the briefest possible time —more than 800 million dwellings, that at very best constitute only 45 per cent of the total necessary buildings, in thirty years— in order to satisfy the accumulated needs of the underdeveloped countries, doubling actual production.

2) The revolutionary transformations of society and economy—world characteristic of our times—with the creation of new forms of social organization, new institutions, with the flow of physical changes and profound transformations in the uses, the functions and necessary spaces in buildings, their future uses and rates of utilization.

3) The creation—through the revolutionary social process—of a new individual, with fully developed humane characteristics, with profound consciousness of his responsabilities to the world and the new society, developing freely a superior culture, for whom we work, and who has to live in the new buildings.

4) The characteristic conditions of our climates and our means.

5) The cultural heritage of our peoples and of the entire world.

6) A dialectical view of the world and an attitude and action guided by a revolutionary ideology, in the creators of the new architecture. It is evident that the architecture of our peoples, such as conceived and produced at present, with its heavy construction, with the static and formal rigidity of its proportions, with its lack of flexibility, adaptation and costly, difficult maintenance, with its craftsman techniques and its eclectic and rachitic individual expression, is incapable of resolving the problems that confront it. Some of the principles defining the form of the new architecture can be derived from the general determinants previously mentioned:

1) The rule of producing maximum possibilities with the minimum of resources and efforts is derived from the necessity of multiplying production and increasing productivity, in contradiction to the limited resources of manpower, materials and technical level. Within the human objectives, to use the minimum of material in its best structural and constructive conditions; to produce the maximum with the minimum of effort through the better organization of the production process, utilizing the most advanced technique possible within the circumstances.

The main principle of economy.

Then, a new architecture is required that can be provided with the minimum of area, of expenditure of materials and human effort, within the minimum standards of use, but that can be transformed with timegrow, increase the spaces dedicated to certain functions, change form, enlarge-as the pressure of social needs diminish with the increase in production.

The principle of change and growth.

Also, it is necessary that after all the work put into building it gives the maximum of efficiency during its life time, that in time it will not become useless; this is why it must be constantly adapted to the new conditions; from there comes **the principle of transformation.** Building maintenance must represent the least part of its realization in order that it utilizes the minimum of human resources and materials in the new production, from which is derived **economic maintenance** as determining factor.

The application of these principles to the actual conditions of architecture, determines the use

of modulation, standardization and typification and the investigation of their enormous possibilities, the diminution of the weight of building through the use of new light materials and lightened elements, prefabrication, laminated and stereocelosic structures, the repetition of elements, simplicity in building, details arising from the actual construction process, the development of the joining of constructing elements that allow easy growth, termination in factories, etc.

As curious datum of the conscience of mechanization, these lines written on March 20, 1899: "The only way to make economic buildings, is to introduce mechanical elaboration wherever it is possible", and also, "... here is the main issue of the question: to make the projects possible from the economic viewpoint and consequently, to pay attention to production conditions of the locality." The author is none other than the Spanish architect Antonio Gaudí.

2) From the social transformation of the present times, arises the need for the functions of the new architecture to be transformable, space being adaptable for different uses and to changing demands; to sum up, there must be a complete flexibility of interior space, creating truly transformable volumes that can change function if necessary, in other words, we must build articulated volumes, with repeated elements that will be suitable for various uses, and assimilate the changes that are produced according to necessity, being transformed internally and externally. The changing form must follow the changes of the function at the time. It is the form of transformation. From here comes the **principle of flexibility.**

It is possible to imagine the overall economy that is obtained from buildings designed in a way that allow their transformation at practically no cost.

This is expressed architectonically by the development of a whole system of changeable walls, flexible partitions, of light divider-walls, that will constitute the interior space divisions of the created volumes, and that could be moved with a minimum of effort, transforming the spaces. These divisions will be modular, light, with adequate acoustical conditions for the creation of private areas where necessary, mass produced in factories by advanced industrial methods, with varied finishes and different colors, that could be selected by the architect or the person who will use them, and that could be used to divide spaces in different types of buildings.

On the other hand, being modular, they could be simply replaced in case of breakage, allowing easy and economic maintenance, being suitable for changing into different forms to produce varied spaces and atmospheres.

Besides, these interior space divisions, that constitute approximately 33 per cent of the buildings, could be produced by very advanced industrial methods in the highly developed countries, in materials like plastic, steel or engraved aluminium, and would constitute a decisive aid in the acceleration and increase in the volume of building in the less developed countries. It would also diminish extraordinarily the effort and the resources that are invested both in the construction

of interior partitions and for most of the fixtures and fittings—problems that would be resolved—allowing the concentration of all efforts on the construction of the exterior volumes. "Socialism cannot exist"—asserted Doctor Ernesto Guevara in Algiers, in 1965—"unless there is a change of conscience that provokes a new fraternal attitude towards humanity, as much of an individual kind, in the society that constructs or has constructed socialism, as of a world kind in relation to all the peoples that suffer imperialist oppression. We believe that the responsibility of helping the dependent countries must be faced in this spirit."

Through this measure it would be possible to guarantee to the underdeveloped countries the accelerated possibility of constructing at a pace sufficient to satisfy their needs.

3) Building for the new man, who arises from the revolution, a human being fully conscious of his social responsibilities, educated in freedom, profoundly human, requires the complete development of the **principle of variety in unity**, that is, to obtain through the ingenious combination of repeated elements, varied results according to the particular characteristics of the individual or human group that utilize them.

This requires the development of the science and the art of combination in architecture, beginning with a minimum number of different elements, and is opposed to the unnecessary, formal repetition —uniform, schematic and mechanical—cf typical elements and building that up to now has represented most of industrialized production in the world, as the result of a metaphysical, sterile, technocratic and dehumanized conception of architecture.

It is a question of applying the principles of industrial organization to projects, to the production of building materials and elements, and to their coordination and assembly in the construction, guaranteeing varied results according to the temperament of the human being for whom we are constructing. We do not want to create a hybrid, cold and mechanical industrialized construction, but, to find the way to a truly human and creative architecture, produced by the most advanced industrial methods of mass production on a tricontinental scale.

Typification and repetition, contemplated in this way, do not constitute a limitation to individual requirements, but on the contrary, are instruments for liberating the possibilities of an individual solution on a mass scale.

This presupposes the study of the various related functions carried out in construction and their división in groups of functions, that are translated into groups of volumes that can be organized in different forms according to the urban and physical characteristics of the place, creating buildings of different volumes, but, nevertheless, preserving the fundamental constructive-economic unity.

4, 5, 6) A dialectical view of nature, thought and society in the creators of the new architecture will permit them to conceive this in its unity, as a whole; the cities as huge buildings of different spaces for different functions, to organize construction with this view, and to extend this conception to the entire architecture of the Third World—that arises in

similar conditions, with similar characteristics, with similar limitations. Only with a joint view of our problem will it be possible to reach individual solutions for each country, according to their own natural and human characteristics, their own tradition and culture.

This view will allow us to conceive the architecture of our world of the future with cellular buildings of different forms and diverse volume, constituted by the repetition of units, that can be added to for enlargement, transforming them, through simple connections, clean and dry, of advanced technology, and the interior spaces divided by flexible partitions that incorporate the fixture and fittings, finished in durable and varied materials and colors.

Developing and growing cities will be built with incredible rapidness, and made possible by the utilization of very advanced technology with a plastic variety on a scale not dreamed of, as a result of their own constant growth and development.

This architecture will develop in the world different, revolutionary aesthetics, dialectically architectonic aesthetics of change, growth, flexibility, progress, arising from the objectives and as a result of the needs, the characteristics and conditions of the problem of our world, and not as a method a priori, that will represent the correct way to incomparably superior possibilities over anything achieved by modern architecture in the past.

Darkness and light

The peoples of the Third World are united by a common problem, by common needs and characteristics, and by a common urgency to solve the tremendous problems of development that face us, and nevertheless, we very often remain isolated or in poor communication, with a great unawareness of our enormous potentials, of the enormous richness of our cultural traditions. It is necessary to interchange experiences, compare solutions, and united, find new paths.

It is of vital importance to propitiate the drawing together of the architects of the three continents, and make feasible by all means the possibilities of exchanging experiences on technical solutions and common problems.

Perhaps the day is not far off when, with these renewed contacts, intensified with time and pressured by necessities, we can constitute an organization that systematizes definitely our relations, a Union of Architects of Asia, Africa and Latin America, that organizes and channels our problems and our experiences, and we can make them concrete in a Tricontinental Congress of Modern Architecture, that synthesizes the ideal paths for our construction and architecture, into a joint task.

The education of future architects, and the architectonic critique of the present and the future is one of the requirements for advancing along the revolutionary paths of architecture.

It is obvious that before knowing what and how we are going to teach and criticize, we must explain what and how we are going to build. Revolutionary education and critique have as an end the

transformation of reality into defined goals and objectives.

The problems of the contemporary and future education and critique—that today are debated in the midst of a great lack of definitions—will be explained according to how the revolutionary paths of the architecture of the future are defined, and will be developed, as a consequence of these paths, not before.

This work has as objective to make a contribution, however small, to the analysis and explanation of these questions, which constitute problems of vital importance for the development of our world and our ideas.

The problem of the architecture of the Third World, its objectives, limitations and contradictions, will be the embryo of a revolutionary education of future architects, which will develop above all in the student a dialectical view of space and form, of volumes growing in time; all the mathematics of combinations and topological relations; where the drawing will give way to scale modelling, to photography and cinematography, for finding the means of expression and to communicate the transformation of forms in time and growth. This education will develop an intimate, conceptual domain of the most advanced techniques of industrialized production with the purpose of utilizing them as creative instruments, furthering their development; a complete consciousness of the historic evolution of architecture and national culture, in order to discover its scientific laws of development, and expand without limit the paths of the future, profoundly relating them to the evolutionary process of the culture of humanity and incorporating all the contributions they make to the ends and aspirations of the new architecture, all this taking shape in investigations related to the development of the daily realities of the countries.

Then, the intuition of the creator of the architecture of our world and our time, will be no more than the visionary interpretation, at its highest level, in each sphere of activities, of the scientific laws of the rising development of humanity; its art has to be a stimulating vehicle for that development; its quality will be given by the human universality of the means of expression that the reality of its time offers; the proof of its vision is the true road of humanity.

The next decades will be decisive for the world, they are years of struggle, great tasks, sacrifices and difficulties for our peoples, but there will also be times of glory, justice, dignity, independence and liberty. Within these contradictions a new society will germinate and flourish and with it, a new architecture, different, undoubtedly superior.

An architecture, true expression of a unitary concept of the economy, of society, culture, technology and aesthetics, that give it life, that we will call dialectical because of the roots from which it originates, in contrast to the metaphysical, fragmentary, limited, partial concept, that permeates the great majority of the architectural realizations that today we call modern.

Very seldom has the epoch been synthesized with juster greatness than in the words of Castro Alves, poet of the Third World: "The century is great . . . in space, there is a drama of darkness and light."

REVERSE AND EXPERIENCE

The Executive Secretariat of OSPAAAL issued a statement on July 13 setting forth the organization's stand on the crisis in the Middle East. The OSPAAAL communiqué denounced Israel's activities as an instrument of U.S. aggression and stressed that such acts are part of Yankee imperialism's "global strategy".

It recalled the situation in the Middle East during the last few years and the revolutionary actions that characterize the position of the Arab countries, explaining that "Israel, created in 1948 in territory belonging to the people of Palestine, has, from the onset, shown intentions of territorial expansion and domination".

The statement stressed the difference between the situation during the Second World War, when "international public opinion favored the Jewish people," and today, when "such opinion, inspired in the same feelings, energetically condemns the Zionist aggressors."

OSPAAAL identifies the Zionist movement with the highest circles of the imperialist countries. "As such, Israel is no more than a base for aggression and an instrument for the penetration of Yankee imperialism and its allies."

The OSPAAAL communiqué mentions the increasing awareness of the people of the Arab countries, and stresses that "old alliances that are not really based on the interests of the Arab peoples have been exposed and the masses understand that it naturally follows that their struggle must necessarily sweep aside all their oppressors. It is not possible, under

the cloak of so-called brotherhood, to unite progressive and revolutionary governments with corrupt, feudal monarchies, completely sold-out to imperialist policy."

"Naturally," the statement adds, "the struggle against imperialist interests exposes the lackeys of imperialism and places the revolutionaries on one side and the feudal, pro-imperialist reactionaries on the other."

After mentioning the measures adopted by the Syrian Government against the oil monopolies, it stresses that "the Syrian people rouse the hatred of the forces of reaction, as their example constitutes a danger to the future plans of imperialism and those who, placing themselves alongside imperialism and zionism, oppose the struggle of the people of Syria and Palestine."

The OSPAAAL statement exposes the attitude of the governments of Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Tunisia, and Morocco as "a maneuver to sow confussion in order to prevent being swept aside by their people."

"In the face of aggression," stresses the OSPAAAL Secretariat, "the attitude of the Arab peoples of defending their national sovereignty with weapons in hand, to destroy the oil pipelines and seize the installation of the imperialist companies, and to stop the supply of oil to those nations participating in the aggression, shows the Arab people's increasing awareness."

After questioning the false peace prevailing in Laos, Cambodia, Viet Nam, Korea, Cuba, the Congo (K), Guinea, Tanzania and other places, the statement expresses that there " can be no peace while imperialism exists, because imperialism means exploitation and the imperialists back their exploitation with armed force. This more than proves that the only path open to the peoples to eliminate exploitation is that of revolutionary struggle."

Regarding UN Security Council handling of the matter, OSPAAAL explains that the peace negotiations were held in an atmosphere of concession; that the cease fire "ignored the right of the peoples to national sovereignty and independence; and encouraged the Israeli aggressors."

The declaration pointed out that the Arab peoples have suffered "territorial reverses," and that this constitutes an important experience for the revolutionary forces of the Arab countries that are, today, confronting the aggressors with the determination to fight on to victory".

"In the face of this situation," adds the OSPAAAL statement, "the duty of the revolutionary forces of the Arab countries is to consolidate their unity, remain firm in the struggle against the forces of imperialism, headed by Yankee imperialism, and its puppet, Israel; to reject those agreements and negotiations designed to curb the struggle and that disregard the sovereignty and independence of the Arab countries; and now, more than ever, to step up the revolutionary struggle of the Arab peoples."

"We must, therefore, hail the position of the Algerian Government in rejecting the UN Security Council cease-fire agreement, and declare a permanent war on the aggressors. It further constitutes a valuable contribution to the attitude of the government of Syria, whose people heroically fought the invading troops."

In conclusion, the OSPAAAL Executive Secretariat said that "ours is a struggle without quarter, without vacillation, confident of total victory against the forces of reaction and imperialism, headed by the common enemy of all mankind Yankee imperialism."

AGREEMENTS AND THEIR VIOLATION

On the 13th anniversary of the signing of the Geneva Agreements, the Executive Secretariat of OSPAAAL issued a call to the peoples of the three continents to "intensify their help and support for the just cause of the Vietnamese people."

The statement stressed that, according to the Geneva Agreements, "Viet Nam should have been reunified in 1956 through general elections" and that "U.S. imperialism, enemy of the Vietnamese nation and all the progressive peoples of the world, is responsible for the violation of the Agreements."

After denouncing U.S. plans of escalation in Viet Nam and bombing raids on the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, "a sovereign nation and member of the socialist camp," the OSPAAAL statement points out that "all these criminal acts of war on the part of Yankee imperialism in Viet Nam are intended to turn South Viet Nam into a U.S. neocolony and military base to be used as a springboard of aggression against the socialist countries."

The OSPAAAL statement "reaffirms its condemnation of the violation of the Geneva Agreements by the U.S. imperialists, and pledges its unconditional support for the just struggle of the Vietnamese people against imperialism."

The statement further "calls on all the peoples of Africa, Asia, Latin America and the entire world to firmly support the Vietnamese people; to condem even more energetically the grave violations of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam; to carry out more effective measures demanding that U.S. imperialism end its war of aggression, withdraw both U.S. and satellite troops from South Viet Nam, recognize the National Front of Liberation and allow the Vietnamese people to settle their own internal affairs, and to decisively and unconditionally suspend bombing raids and other acts of war against the DRV."

The OSPAAAL declaration calls for "mass demonstrations, the collection of money and medicines, boycotting of transportation of U.S. armaments and war materiel to Viet Nam, opposition to the draft, constitution of Committees of Support for Viet Nam in those countries where they still do not exist, and any other form of effective solidarity."

EFECTIVE SOLIDARITY WITH CUBA

of their defenses and efforts in support of the struggle of the oppressed peoples for their liberation".

"With the commemoration of the 14th anniversary of the beginning of the armed insurrection in Cuba and on the occasion of this International Day of Solidariry, the Executive Secretariat of OSPAAAL once again affirms its support of and unconditional solidarity with the heroic Cuban people, and with its Revolution, under the leadership of the Communist Party and the Revolutionary Government of Cuba, headed by Major Fidel Castro".

The OSPAAAL statement calls on its member organizations and all the revolutionary forces of the world "to express their active and militant support of the Cuban Revolution, to condemn Yankee imperialism's blockade and aggressive foreign policy against Cuba and to keep on the alert so as to effect telling measures of support for Cuba in the face of any new aggressive maneuvers instituted by the Government of the United States."

On International Day of Solidarity with the People of Cuba (July 26), OSPAAAL issued an appeal to "all the world forces to express effective and militant support for the Cuban Revolution".

Initiation of the first episode of the armed struggle in Cuba (1953) was outstanding as "that heroic feat and its later consequences have shown Latin America the correct strategy to use in the struggle involved in this historic process that has begun to take form in our continent".

The document points out that Cuba "has maintained her position as a bulwark in the revolutionary struggle". For that reason, U. S. imperialism, ringleader of world imperialism, has set itself against Cuba, financed and carried out one provocation after another such as that of Playa Girón and continues unceasingly to plan new acts of aggression against the Cuban Revolution". In the face of OAS maneuvers, "the heroic Cuban people are working tirelessly in the construction of their socialist State parallel with fortification

news behind the news

*** Le Figaro picked it up. The pointed article "The Three Fateful Hours" (June 13) brands General Iariv, "chief of the Israeli special services," as the man who ensured the aggression's success. Moshe Dayan is relegated to a secondary role and General Rabin is severely criticized for his gratuitous cruelty in Syria, cause of high Israeli casualties. The article speaks of the meticulous organization of Iariv's crew, which makes an "exact science" of intelligence: Let us see:

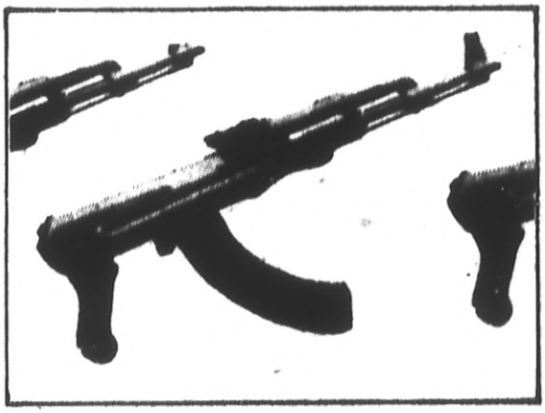
"Know Israel. Win this contest and travel to Tel Aviv, Haifa . . ." Full-color posters advertising Israel's tourist attractions can be seen in many of the major African capitals south of the Sahara: Addis Ababa, Nairobi, Kampala, Freetown, Leopolville, Accra, Lagos. This is a key aspect of Israeli foreign policy: cultural, economic, political and military penetration into Africa. Started somewhat over five years ago, this penetration developed at a rapid rate. Israel advances the image of a tourist attraction in the African countries south of the Sahara; her embassies promote contests which offer trips to the country as a way of popularizing her presence; the number of African students studying in Israel on scholarships grows by the year; approximately 400 Israeli technicians, advisors and university professors are working in countries of the area, including their educational centers. There has been systematic growth of trade, loans and financing despite the internal economic difficulties that beset the political life of these countries.

It is fairly common knowledge that Israel is playing an important role in setting up, training and advising certain Africa armies—and even in organizing repressive bodies and anti-guerrilla courses. The intelligence and counterintelligence corps and armies of countries such as

Uganda have been organized and are advised by Israeli officers. The repressive force of Ethiopia and the Congo were also trained and are today advised by Israeli officers.

Israel even established relations with some liberation movements in countries under colonial oppression and extended offers of aid. A few months ago **Revolution Africaine,** central organ of the NLF of Algeria, denounced this policy for what it meant; many-sided penetration into the African countries south of the Sahara, development of these relations for the purpose of wooing support away from the Arab countries and introduction of a wedge between the Arab countries of North Africa and so-called "Black Africa." Two timely questions are quite enough to point up the results of the "lariv crew" policy:

What have these countries said regarding the U.S. and British-backed aggression? What have they done?



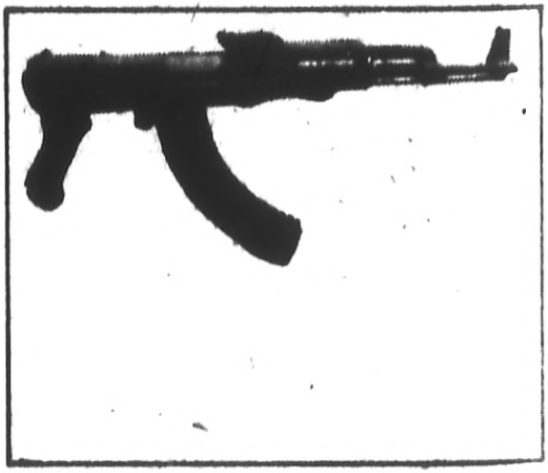
*** Suddenly Bolivia, a country not generally in the news, has been making the front page. From March 23 to July 23, these figures came to the attention of the world:

Number of guerrilla attacks: 23
Number of government casualties: 39

With Bolivia's expulsion of French intellectuals who had come to testify in the Debray case, new friction was produced between U.S. intelligence agencies and the French government. De Gaulle's efforts on behalf of Debray have been more active than those made through Foreing Ministry channels, and this even though the French ambassador in La Paz, Dominique Pouchardier, had fought at De Gaulle's side in the Second World War.

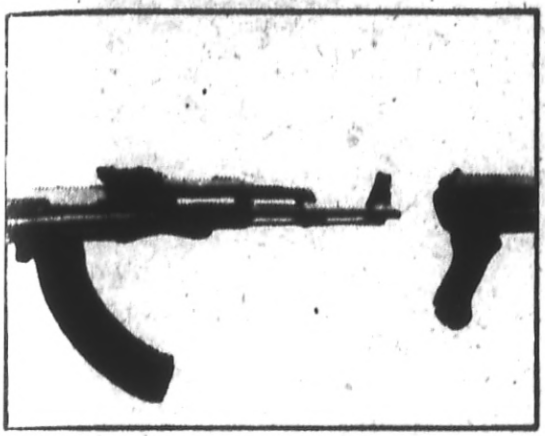
Perhaps Pouchardier was warned that he might be considered **persona non grata** by the Barrientos regime. Whatever the case, it may be that there is a parallel here to what happened when Israel attacked the Arab states: De Gaulle decreed a total embargo on arms shipments to Israel, but some of his subordinates did not honor the measure. It should be borne in mind that the correct position held by France regarding the widely denounced jailing of the distinguished intellectual Debray is in sharp contrast with her colonial activity in French Somaliland.

— Barriento's slipping regime is "way up there" now: pro-government posters are attached to the upper part of lightposts, where a hand cannot reach...



*** There are growing indications that the Portuguese colonialists may begin to use **poison gases** and

bacteriological warfare to halt the advance of the patriotic forces lead by the **PAIGCV.**
Natural purveyors: Washington and Bonn.



*** Japan does nót participate directly in the war in Viet-Nam. She has not sent troops to join those of the United States. But:

— The Tokyo international civil airport is being used by U.S. military planes. In 1966, there were 1369 arrivals and departures of these aircraft.

— Japanese monopolies earn approximately one thousand million dollars a year in business dealings connected with the war.

— There are 265 U.S. military bases in Japan. Seventh Fleet headquarters are located in the port of Yokosuka.

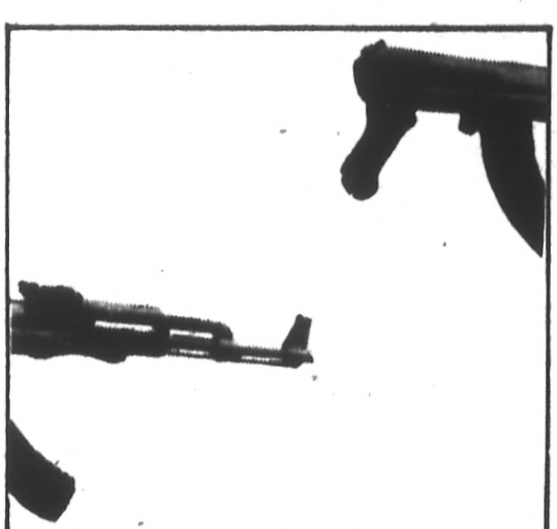
— Over 600 Japanese citizens are participating in the war as "sanitary personnel and military construction technicians."

— There to ten U. S. airplanes are repaired daily at the **Konan** aviation company, located in the port of Kobe.

— The **Toyota** company distributes thirty to forty thousand dollars a month in spare parts for U.S. army trucks.

— The textile industry manufactures 250,000 military uniforms yearly for the United States.

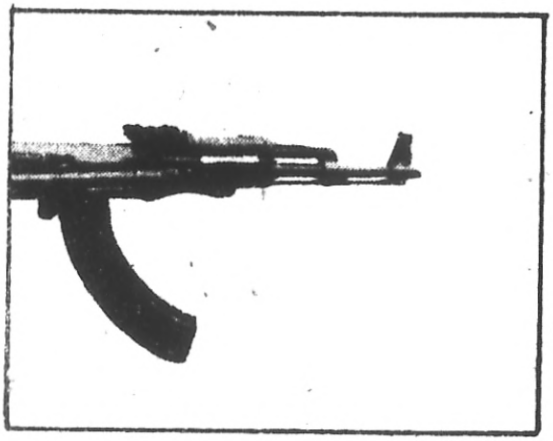
*** It is being said in some Arab countries that the incursion of Ethiopian troops into Sudanese territory is due to the position taken in the Middle East crisis. Ethiopia's armed forces, it should be recalled, have Israeli advisers, and the United States has five bases in that country. As a consequence, armed groups from Eritrea have increased their activities in recent months.



*** Contradictions and disagreements flourish within the Leoni government and its various military groups over the actions demanded against Cuba. The call for punitive measures varies in intensity as this or that group in the special Venezuelan situation waxes or wanes in strength. And added to this is a point of view circulating among Latin American embassies in Caracas. "It's ridiculous to consider the

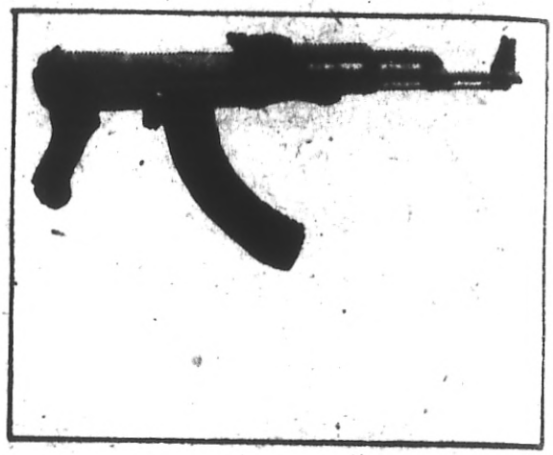
landing of a group of men on the coast as a serious threat to a country's stability."

The "hawks" invoke the Treaty of Rio de Janeiro to urge a military action against Cuba (and gain greater control on the local scene) while the "doves" argue that the international situation is not favorable and it is necessary to wait (time gained to continue in or near the presidential seat.)

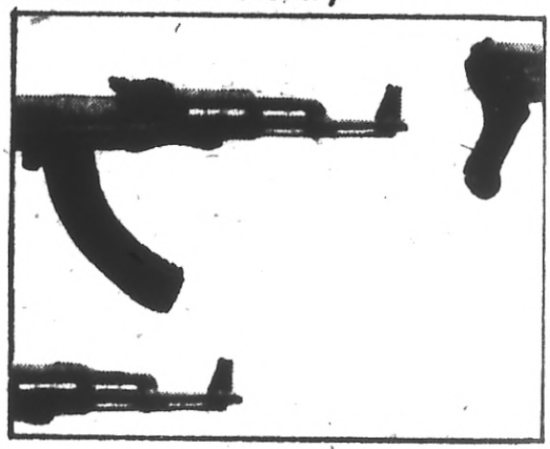


*** The Mozambique Liberation Front (Frelimo) announced the opening of an office in New York.

***A further step in the systematic policy of repression followed by Mobutu against the national liberation movement in Africa: a guerrilla column of the MPLA was captured and imprisoned by Mobutu's troops when it was getting ready to reinforce the development of the guerrilla struggle in the Second military Region of Angola.
August 5, 1966

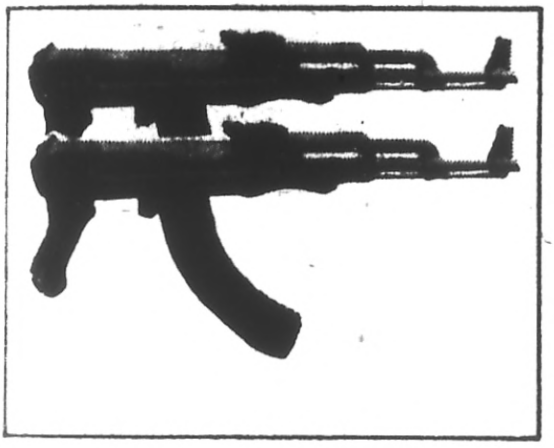


*** The leaders of the Cameroun Union of Populations headed by Dr. Massaga, flatly state that Ernest Ouandie, major leader of the organization, is not dead and is present in resistance groups in the interior of the country.



*** The Fourteenth Asian Film Festival, which was to have been held May 29 June 3, 1967, in Hong Kong, has been postponed. It will not be held until 1968. The reason given was that the "poor health" of the President of the Executive Committee would not permit him to undertake organization of the event.
The fact of the matter is that Taiwan was to participate in the Festival. Its flag was to be raised at Hong Kong City Hall. The Chinese colony was prepared to demonstrate against the presence of Chiang Kai Shek and... as the situation in Hong Kong is going from "bad to worse," it was decided to suspend the Festival and attribute this to an official's "poor health."

*** In Uganda, two Indian sugar plantation owners have greater financial resources than the state itself.



*** In Sarawak (Borneo), the poorest region of the Malaysian Federation, a thousand-man guerrilla organization is said to exist in the jungles.

It was announced (June 6) that the guerrillas had ambushed a Malaysian Security Forces patrol in the Second Division of Sarawak. The troops suffered 4 casualties: 1 dead and 3 wounded. The guerrilla group escaped without losses.

The dispatches reported that this is the first serious encounter two years between Federation troopy and armed groups.

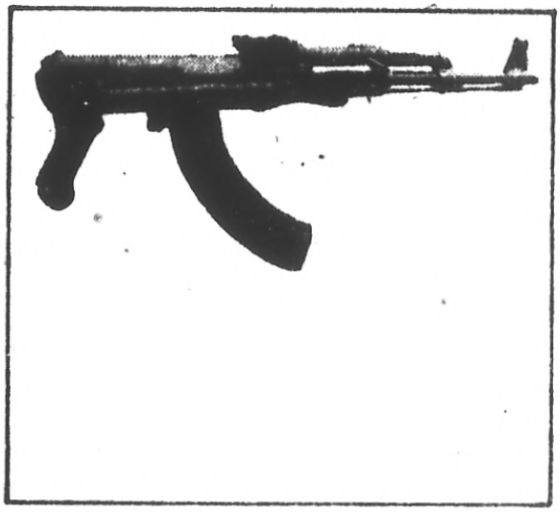
The ambush took place in the Sabujok River Valley, ten miles from the town of Engkilili, 105 miles east southeast of Kuching, capital of Sarawak.

*** An article in the **Far Eastern Economic Review** (Hong Kong) praised the radio broadcasts of the Thai Patriotic Front, which directs guerrilla struggle in Thailand. The station ean be heard clearly thoughout the country. It transmits three times a day and is said to "have very weli organized programs." The news reports are described as "fresh and highly analytical, far superior to anything that ean be read in Bangkok."

The guerrilla station offered the best known reports on the recent disastrous floods in the south and gave a penetrating analysis of why proclamation of the constitution had been put off.

The article pointed out that the guerrilla station is a severe headache for the government of Thanom Kittikachorn.

*** During the actions of Palestinians in Israeli territory, **the greatest part of the casualties suffered by the commandos occurred when they were falling back to their bases, moving through Jordanian territory.** There were even Israeli attacks against Palestinian towns while Jordanian troops maintained "neutrality" and Kin Hussein gave all kinds of facilities to the now inactive Syrian counterrevolutionary, Salim Hatoum.



AGAIN KOREA?

by Wilfred Burchett

EXCLUSIVE

Australian-born Wilfred G. Burchett, 54, an indefatigable talker, author of **Mekong, Up the River, The Furtive War, The Vietnam War, North Vietnam Speaking**, recently finished **Again Korea?**, the manuscript of which is practically unknown even to his editor. If Burchett—sharp, gray-haired, nearsighted, inveterate walker, married to Vessa—gave up momentarily the direct war theatre, his interviews with captured American pilots, his preoccupations and interrogation as a spokesman for the march of events in Vietnam, to "escalate" all the way up to North Korea (will he write about Cuba next to complete the trilogy?), it was evidently because the latest events in the Japan Sea point to a repetition of conflicts not disconnected with the war in Vietnam. The **Tricontinental** magazine offers its readers as an exclusive feature, the first chapter of **Again Korea?**, in which the author expresses the highlights and documented facts that prompted Kim Il Sung's sober words during his interview with Burchett (May 20)' "So please come back before everything is destroyed."

CHAPTER 1

"FLYING DRAGON"

"Come and visit us again", said my host. "Bring your wife and have a good holiday here. But . . . I advise you to come soon if you want to see our country as it is now," and he waved his hand towards the window which looked out on a broad, tree-lined boulevard of shining new apartment houses and shops. "Call on us again. It is possible that this will all be destroyed once more in case war breaks out. So please come before things are destroyed. I say to my comrades that they should not think they can keep our nice theatres and things as they are now. And that they should realize that as long as imperialism exists, war may break out and as long as the unification of our country has not been achieved, things may be destroyed again." My host was premier Kim Il Sung of North Korea, the place Pyongyang, the date May, 20, 1967.

In the weeks previous to this conversation, Korea had occasionally ostled with Vietnam for space in he world newspaper headlines. Just a week earlier there had been the incident in which Soviet and American warships literally jostled each other in two incidents on successive days off the North Korean coast in the Sea of Japan, which Koreans know as their East Sea. Shooting incidents in and around the Demilitarized Zone which now separates North and South Korea were making the headlines with ever-increasing frequency. But there were also many less dramatic happenings news of which even if published, went unnoticed, but which, viewed together explained the chilling words that accompanied Premier Kim's invitation.

The incidents on May 10 and 11 in which a Soviet destroyer bumped

into an American warship took place during joint American-Japanese naval manoeuvres and the day after those manoeuvres finished, American-South Korean naval manoeuvres started still closer to the North Korean coast. These were in turn followed by joint Japan-South Korean military manoeuvres. All three exercises were based on North Korea as the "imaginary enemy."

On the day Premier Kim received me, Washington announced a new US ambassador to South Korea, Mr. Porter whose post until a few weeks previously had been that of right hand man to U.S. ambassador Cabot Lodge in Saigon. A short time previously Washington had also named a new ambassador to Japan, Mr. Alexis Johnson whose previous post had been as deputy to General Maxwell Taylor, Washington's super-ambassador to Saigon, Johnson one could qualify as the political expert in the application of "special war" as waged by General Maxwell Taylor in South Vietnam, Porter as the political expert in the "limited war" waged there by General Westmoreland.

Premier Kim Il Sung during our meeting referred to President Johnson's visits to the Military Demarcation line at the end of October, 1966, after the Manila Conference, he said: "Since that visit the Americans have greatly stepped up their military provocations in and around the Demilitarized Zone. They have craeted tension in this area..."

About the time Premier Kim was giving me his views on the tense situation in Korea, Admiral Grant Sharp, who commands all US forces in the Pacific area, arrived in Tokyo and with Ambassador Johnson as his aide immediately plunged into a closed conference with Japanese Defense Ministry officials. Does one have to possess an over-suspicious mind to doubt that all these developments are coincidental and unconnected? To suspect that as Vietnam was turned into a second Korea, Korea is now to be turned into a second Vietnam? The few facts cited above are perhaps superficial. But if one seeks comfort by digging a little deeper below the surface what is uncovered is anything but comforting!!!

There was a considerable scandal in the Japanese Diet in the spring and summer of 1965 when questions by Communist and Socialist deputies succeeded in prying out of prime minister Sato, the fact that two plans under the code names of "Three Arrows" and "Flying Dragon" had been drawn up by Japanese general staff officers and their American counterparts. The plans were aimed at Joint US - Japanese military operations against North Korea as a first phase, subsequently to be extended against China. "Three Arrows" was prepared in

June, 1963 and "Flying Dragon", a much more detailed version, a year later. A third variant "Running Bull" was worked out in 1965.

"Three Arrows" envisages the outbreak of war between North and South Korea, on July 19. 196... — the last figure is left blank. It was drawn up by some 80 officers of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the Japanese "Self-Defense Forces" aided by American senior staff officers of colonel rank. The Japanese officers were headed by Lieutenant-General Yoshio Tanaka, who clarified during a Diet hearing that: "This is not a study theme for a staff college discussion, it is based on actual defense plans."

On the basis of these plans, a number of laws, such as "conscription and requisition" "universal national mobilization" and a number of others to complete the militarization of Japanese life have already been drafted and could be promulgated over-night. Laws sufficiently drastic to crush any elements of Japanese democracy still existing on July 19, 196... Each of the variants takes into account changes in the world situation since "Three Arrows" was drawn up. The draft laws provide for concentrating 60 percent of the Japanese Army, Navy and Air Force in the southern and western regions of Japan which would provide the operational and supply bases for military operations carried out essentially by Japanese and South Korean ground forces in one variant with Taiwan - based Kuo-min-tang forces added in another. South Korean forces would be under Japanese Command, but because of the special Korean situation they would be operating under the "United Nations" flag, Kuo-min-tang troops would be under US Command from the operational and logistics base at Okinawa, where the 5th. US Air Force has its headquarters.

"Three Arrows," the mother of all other plans, is spelt out in 1,419 pages and the overall drafting work was supervised by the then US Under-Secretary for Defense, Roswell Gilpatric. It provides for the use of nuclear weapons against Korea and China, combined with landing operations and doubtless to stimulate Japanese interest at that time it envisages joint US-Japanese landings on oil-rich Soviet Sakhalin which Japan seized from tsarist Russia in 1905 and held on to until the end of Second World War.

"Flying Dragon" operation, details of which were revealed in a parliamentary debate on October 29, 1965, has some curious provisos for an ostensibly "defense" plan. It provides for detailed military measures 30 days **before** war actually breaks out. During this period the Japanese "air self-defense force" and US bases in Japan will go over

to round-the-clock state of alert and in the first ten days the armed forces communications services will be switched to a new code... In the second stage, which lays the ground-work for "defensive-offensive" (or "pre-emptive" in the jargon of American military semantics) operations against North Korea and China, the US 5th. Air Force and the Japanese Air Force will be placed under the US Air Command for the whole Pacific area to facilitate joint operations. Losses of aircraft which McNamara's computers, based on Vietnamese experience, have set at 18 to 30 per cent in the first month are to be replaced by reserves from the Japanese Air Force. The Soviet Union as a target is dropped from "Flying Dragon" which concentrates on operations against North Korea and China.

Part of Japanese forces would be moved to Okinawa, according to the "Flying Dragon" variant and would be placed under a US-Japan Joint Command. As preparations for the next phase, American forces would move from Hawaii to Okinawa and northern Kyushu, the closest Japanese territory to Korea. In the next stage the US Navy would provide air and sea transport for joint landings of US and Japanese troops in an invasion of Nort Korea and China, hopefully under the cover of another "UN" resolution. Provision is made for the use of nuclear weapons in military operations against North Korea and China. Implicit in all this is that July 19, 196... must be preceded by provocations of such a nature that North Korea will be forced to take counter-measures sufficient to be branded "aggressor" as last time, that China will support North Korea again and all sorts of blank-check "UN" resolutions will be pulled out of the files to give the USA a free hand to seek the revenge that its fire-eating generals have always sought for the humiliation of the Panmunjom ceasefire agreements. "Unfinished business" as General Mark Clark later described the agreements which he signed on behalf of the "United Nations."

The naval manoeuvres staged off the North Korean coast during May, 1967 were in fact "Three Arrows" rehearsals for July 19, 196... Just as were the whole series of landing exercises staged by USROK (Republic of Korea) troops, mountain warfare exercises and others staged in South Korea in increasing frequency since President Johnson's visit. Part of the naval exercises were practice blockades of the North Korean coastal area — and it was this that brought about the collisions with the Soviet destroyer. Another part were air and sea transport exercises under enemy fire and anti-submarine manoeuvres as detailed in the code plans. These were no war games exercises between imaginary "red" and "blue" forces, they were

fulldress rehearsals for plans that have got down to sand-pit models of the beachheads to be secured and lists of industrial and urban targets marked down for priority destruction. Knowledge of such plans were implicit in Kim Il Sung's certitude that North Korean towns, industries and villages were to be again destroyed.

Drawing up the military plans has been very carefully integrated with creating a political and diplomatic framework within which military preparations could be completed. For this there were some formidable obstacles to be overcome. These could be summed up as principally the Japanese Constitution intended to impose severe restrictions on a resurgence of Japanese militarism. The difficulty for the United States in geeting Japanese armed forces entirely under its control. Traditional hostility felt by the Korean people, North and South of the temporary dividing line, to Japanese militarism, colonialism or any hint of Japanese penetration of the Korean mainland again. US State Department experts and extremist right-wing circles in Japan and South Korea have worked might and main to remove the obstacles and to a great extent they have succeeded, at least on the formal, diplomatic front.

It was a long uphill climb to build up the sort of military machine the Pentagon planned to unleash on July 19, 196... Apart from all other factors. Japanese public opinion and South Korean public opinion fiercely resisted policies aimed at the putting the militarists back in power in Japan, at perpetuating US control over and occupation of Japan, at bringing the Japanese monopolies back into Korea under any pretext. The surrender documents signed in August, 1945 stipulated the complete disarming of Japan, the destruction of the mighty militarist, financial oligarchies known as the "zaibatsu." The USA took advantage of the Korean war to push through a separate peace treaty with Japan, at San Francisco in 1961, behind the backs of the Soviet Union and China both of which had suffered much from Japanese militarism and greatly contributed to its defeat.

In 1952, a Japanese coastal defense corps under a central "Defense Agency" was set up and the first step along the long road had been taken. By 1954, the "Defense Agency" was reinforced by a US-Japan Joint Staff Council, the result of another unilateral US-Japan agreement of "mutual defense and aid". The "defense corps" became "self- defense forces" with full - fledged ground, air and naval units and within another two years, there was a "National Defense Council." And so on, modest step by step with the old monooplies beginning to raise their heads, first of all as sup-

pliers to the US forces during the Korean War to the tune of some 2.5 billion dollars and then as suppliers to the steadily increasing brand-new Japanese armed forces, with the war in Vietnam ultimately providing an enormous bonus.

By 1966, Japan had a "self defense" army of 270,000 with such a high proportion of officers and non-com's that it could be expanded into an army millions strong the moment the laws on conscription and mobilisation of resources and other, drafted under the "Three Arrows" plan, were promulgated. Also a "self-defense" Air Force with over 1,400 planes at its disposal, a self-defense" Navy with a tonnage of 150,000 tons including 50 escort vessels and 10 submarines and the world's greatest and fastest shipbuilding capacity, to guarantee lightning like expansion. And despite a most energetic struggle waged by the Japanese people and opposition parties in the Japanese Diet, a Us-Japan "Security Treaty" was pushed through in 1960 which, in the name of "joint defense" put the Japanese armed forces in effect at the disposal of the USA and not only removed the various curbs on the growth of Japan's armed forces but almost made it "disloyal" for Japan not to press forward as fast as possible in building up its military might. Indeed the only reproaches one has heard from Washington since is that Japan is not pulling her proper weight in "defense of the free world."

Although the 1960 "Security Treaty" removed almost the last barriers to unlimited expansion of Japan's war-making ability there was still one hindrance under which the Sato government and its senior partner in Washington chafed. That was the anti-war clauses of the Constitution drafted in the immediate postwar years under American guidance when memories were still fresh in the USA of the military humiliation of Pearl Harbor, where in December 1941, Japanese planes in a single blow crippled the US Navy. By May, 1967 prime minister Sato at US urging was working hard to revise the Constitution in order to introduce conscription, give Japan the right to own and develop nuclear weapons, legalise the despatch of Japanese troops overseas and mobilise the country's human and material resources, at any time the war-making partnership decided the moment has come. Japanese voters had persistently denied his ruling party the two-thirds majority necessary to change the Constitution. But there is little doubt that constitutional scruples would be scrapped if the sort of situation envisaged under "Three Arrows" could be brought about. As for the legal niceties of Japan getting back into Korea, these were settled by the South Korea-Japan Treaty signed in Tokyo on June 22, 1965. The fact that it had taken 14 years to push

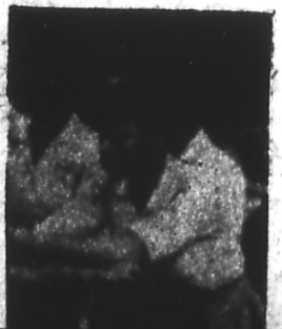
this treaty through is a measure of the violent opposition by the Korean people. As the "New York Times" commented at the time: "The objections stem largely from deep-rooted distrust of the Japanese as well as slack of confidence in President Pak's government. Opponents of the Treaty charged that the Government is so corrupt that it would be unable to check 'economic aggression' by Japan and that Japanese aid money would help only a handful of privilege businessmen . . . "

It was not only the gates to "economic aggression" that had been opened. The 1965 Treaty cleared the way for Japanese-ROK military cooperation, in the name of "joint defense" and for the sort of aggressive military operations foreseen by the authors of "Three Arrows", "Flying Dragon," "Running Bull" and doubtless some other variants which have not yet seen the light of day. The authors of these plans could not have foreseen at the time that the United States would run into such trouble in Vietnam, with over a third of the army and marine divisions of the standing army bogged down in a war which seemed to have no end. Would not this very fact make it unthinkable that the USA would want any new fronts being opened up in Asia? It is a justifiable argument and one for which I sought facts to justify. One of my first visits in pursuit of this was to Panmunjom, where for two and a half years — from July 1951 to the end of February, 1954 I had been witness to the ceasefire talks which ended the shooting war at that time, the preliminary political talks that followed the ceasefire and the long-drawn out exchange of prisoners of war which lasted six months after the shooting stopped.

ARMED STRUGGLE IN AFRICA

by GERARD CHALIAND
Maspero Publications.
Paris, 1967

"After the appearance of the first politically organized guerrilla force



in tropical Africa ten years ago —that of the U.P.C. (Union de la Population de Cameroun), the experience of that form of struggle has been enriched even through failures," So begins one of the chapters of the book **Armed Struggle in Africa**, by Gerard Chaliand, recently published in Paris by Maspero Publications. This is a book which depicts the development of the national liberation struggle in Africa.

The author states his regret that those groups that met with temporary reverses did not analyze their failures and their contradictions, as their experiences could have been utilized by the national liberation movements of this continent and other latitudes.

Experience shows us that the hardest struggle that any national or social revolution faces is the one engaged in against the internal weaknesses of the groups who undertake the task of liberating their countries.

Ideological deficiency, which has a total lack of knowledge of the social, economic and cultural conditions which they wish to change, has been a very important factor in paralyzing armed struggle in some colonial and neocolonial countries of the continent. The elimination of that deficiency, through the correct analysis of accumulated experiences, could be a concrete form to improve the present and future action of the national liberation movements. In the specific case of armed struggle in the neocolonial countries of Africa, Chaliand points out present difficulties (mainly in West Africa) such as the low level of productive forces, the fact that the agrarian reform is not foreseen as an immediate need. and the integration of the petit bourgeoisie to the bureaucratic state apparatus (in nearly all cases the bureaucratic bourgeoisie is larger than the proletariat). He also points out minor contradictions as a consequence of the remaining tribes. The author analyzes these unfavourable factors and points out that those problems have not yet been dealt with in absolute earnestness, nor has a specific study of the true local conditions been made.

As far as the political strategy of the guerrillas is concerned, Chaliand considers that, at least regarding nearly all West African countries, "it seems that certain elements which rise from the study of the struggle of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (APIG) can be treated in a general way." "Evidently" —he points out— "it is not a matter of doubting the principle of armed struggle — the only road in many countries — to change the existing social order, but to try to adapt, as far as possible, the organizing technique which is the first stage of guerrilla warfare."

The constant violence against the nationalist forces in certain African countries, and the sharp contradictions in others, show that armed struggle is the obvious road for national liberation. Experience of other oppressed countries, and their subsequent choice of that road, corroborate the above. Excellent examples of that violence and the sharpening of contradictions, are the recent coups d'état on the African continent, and the civil war in Nigeria.

What Chaliand proposes is the method to be used, to initiate armed struggle in accordance with the specific conditions of each country. To this end he makes a careful study of the historic conditions which determine that method.

The first chapters of the book refer specifically to the struggle in the Portuguese colony of Guinea-Bissao. Chaliand brings us into contact with the patriots of Amil-

car Cabral and with the political cadres of his General Staff, by means of a long tour of the guerrilla fronts in the thick jungle of Oïo, heart of the "maquis" in the northern part of Guinea-Bissao, and of their bases in Maké and Morés. Tombon Sdidi, 16, guerrilla fighter says: "My parents live in a nearby village. They have given me permission to join the fighters. In the village, my mother is a leader of the Party (PAIGC). My father cultivates the land. I started fighting a year ago near this base. I received military instruction and participated in 9 guerrilla skirmishes during a period of six months."

The new awareness of the victim of the colonial regime is acquired by him through the succeeding actions. Simultaneously, the accumulated experience impels him to define a general line of thought and action, which put him on the road to the elimination of his own deficiencies.

"Internally" —says Amílcar Cabral— "it seems to us that the greatest weakness, or most important unfavorable factors, emanate from the socio-economic structure and the trend of its evolution under imperialist pressure; or better yet, from the scant or complete lack of attention accorded to the characteristics of this structure and trend by the movements of national liberation when elaborating the strategy of their struggle."

The author replies to the essential queries relative to the political strategy of the P.A.I.G.C. in the development of the struggle for national liberation which has started in Guinea. A large portion of the book is dedicated to the gathering of the experiences of the Guinean guerrillas by means of direct interviews with the leaders, the guerrillas and the peasants for the purpose of obtaining useful information which might enrich the armed struggle in Africa.

PUERTO RICO: ANALYSE OF A PLEBISCITE

By MIGUEL A. D'ESTEFANO
Tricontinental Editions. Havana, 1967.

U. S. imperialism's colonial role has always remained in second place, especially because the United States never was a colonialist power in the classical style, such as Holland and England, but the United States rises later as a world power and imposes its dominion in a determined, historic manner applying a special style of domination based primarily on the economic angle. That is why some are still sterprised when they are reminded that the United States is also a colonialist power that has not only "legally turned Puerto Rico into a colony, but has also adopted all imaginable measures to create a colonial situation," comparable with the most retrograde colonialism which still exists in some regions of Africa and Asia in these times. The case of Puerto Rico is one of the most dramatic ones which exist in the American continent. The United States, a young nation, does not discover, conquer, or colonize Puerto Rico; it occupies it by force of arms.

Since this intervention of 1898 the United States has uninterruptedly acted to try to legalize that status while appearing before the world as a non-colonialist

power. Thus, the history of U.S.-Puerto Rico relations, a series of ambiguous and underhanded acts, culminates, in 1952, in the birth of the so-called Associated Free State, which is a new step taken by the U. S. government to evade the title of "colonial power" at the United Nations Organization. This creature is an incognito. No one, inside or outside of Puerto Rico, knows exactly what is an Associated Free State, nor does the U. S. Congress even define the scope or content of the "new" status.

In 1960 the resolution against colonialism was approved in the U.N. and in 1961 the committee in charge of investigating the colonial situation of the peoples who have not attained their independence was created. At the same time the struggle of the Puerto Rican people for their political liberation and sovereignty was intensified. The United States quickly invented a way out of the situation and it was Kennedy who, aided in 1962 by the puppet Muñoz Marín, encouraged the idea of the plebiscite as a formula to cover up the vassalage and presented before public opinion, a people "deciding" its destiny in a "free" way. As a plan it is unequaled. In Puerto Rico, U. S. imperialism wants to present before America a people who "prefer" to maintain their condition of "associate" with the powerful nation to the north because of a supposed will motivated from Washington, guaranteeing its leadership through the political, administrative and military apparatus, and which practices all the subterfuges within the power of a colonialist country towards its colony of nearly seventy years.

Puerto Rico: Analysis of a Plebiscite by Doctor Miguel A. D'Estéfano, professor of International Public Law, goes beyond what the author implies in the title. It is a document of accusations against the imperialist and colonial domination of the United States over the homeland of Albizu Campos, Hostos and Betances. The book, the first of **Tricontinental Editions**, contains an exact juridical-political analysis of the history of the relations of Puerto Rico with the United States, from the moment of military intervention until the present, making a special study of the conditions which surround the plebiscite formula, unconstitutional from even the U. S. point of view, as shown by d'Estéfano.

All the machinations of the United States at the U. N. are disclosed in D'Estéfano's analysis on uncovering the policy of the U. S. government and the complicity of national individuals of annexationist and petty-chieftain attitudes. The author shows, with irrefutable arguments, the open colonialism suffered by the people of Puerto Rico: the economic penetration, the growing military intervention; the subjúgation of the Puerto Rican nation, of its language, of its culture.

Puerto Rico: Analysis of a Plebiscite is of an outstanding importance. Apart from the main objective pursued by the author, the reader becomes aware of one of the main characteristics of U.S. imperialism: its foreign policy toward the small countries, its manner of acting, and its "knowledge" of maneuvers at the U. N. After reading the book one comes to the conclusion that under bourgeois law and the United Nations, the Puerto Rican people will never achieve true independence.